Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-244
Thursday
19 December 1991

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-91-244 *19 December 1991*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

NOTICE TO READERS: The United States Government recognizes the independence of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Arms Control & Disarmament

NATO 'Eagerly Waiting' for Baker Briefing *[TASS]* 1
European Inspectors Visit Military Districts 1
British Inspectors in Volga-Ural *[TASS]* 1
Finnish Inspectors in Leningrad *[TASS]* 1

Worldwide Issues

Western Bankers To Consider Debt Problem *[IZVESTIYA 18 Dec]* 1
Amnesty International To Open Moscow Office *[INTERFAX]* 2
Gorbachev, Yeltsin Greet 'Hate' Conference *[TASS]* 2

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze Views Future of Foreign Policy *[Moscow Radio]* 2
Columnist on Baker Visit, CIS Recognition *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 19 Dec]* 3
Commentary on U.S. Moscow Embassy 'Bugging' *[Moscow International]* 3
Yakovlev on 'New Generation of Politicians' *[Moscow TV]* 4

Near East & South Asia

Iraq's Tariq 'Aziz on USSR Dissolution *[TASS]* 4
Georgiyev Comments on Li Peng's India Visit *[Moscow International]* 5

East Europe

Shaposhnikov, Hungary's Fur Sign Agreement *[Budapest MTI]* 5
Croatia's Gregurich on Soviet Arms Supply *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 11 Dec]* 5

West Europe

Envoy to Belgium To Attend Brussels Conference *[TASS]* 7
Troop Withdrawals From Germany on Schedule *[TASS]* 7
German Banker on Credit, Russian Cooperation *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 11 Dec]* 7

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Congress of People's Deputies

Sufficient Signatures for Congress Gained *[INTERFAX]* 9

Supreme Soviet

Union Property Main Theme of Debate *[IZVESTIYA 18 Dec]* 9
Gorbachev's Influence 'Brought to Nothing' *[Radio Rossii]* 9

Political & Social

Gorbachev's Resignation, Future Options Viewed 9
'Will Respect' Choices *[ARGUMENTY I FACTY Dec 91]* 9
To Continue Political Activity *[Moscow TV]* 10
Need for 'Coordinating Organ' *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 19 Dec]* 10
Allegedly Signed Resignation *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 19 Dec]* 11
Resignation Report 'Groundless' *[TASS]* 11
Likhotal on Resignation *[Tel Aviv Radio]* 11
Alma-Ata Message Sent *[TASS]* 12
Transitional Period Examined *[IZVESTIYA 19 Dec]* 12
Intelligence Service To Remain 'Centralized' *[TASS]* 13
News Conference Held *[Radio Rossii]* 13
Primakov Unaware of Report Transfer *[Radio Rossii]* 14
Shevardnadze on Commonwealth, Gorbachev Role
[Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE SONDAG 15 Dec] 14
News Conference *[INTERFAX]* 15
Reform of Law-Enforcement Organs Prepared *[TASS]* 15
Problems in Foreign Policy Transition Viewed *[Radio Rossii]* 16
Dispute Between Paper, Publishers Examined *[TASS]* 16
PRAVDA's Viewpoint *[18 Dec]* 17
Central TV To Switch to Russian Jurisdiction *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 18 Dec]* 17
Komsomol Revival Movement Holds Conference *[Russian TV]* 17
TASS Carries Press Review for 18 Dec 18
Press Review for 19 Dec *[TASS]* 18

Commonwealth Affairs

Five Republics Plus Uzbekistan Ready To Join *[INTERFAX]* 19
Commentary on New Members *[Russian TV]* 19
Analyst Deems 'Economic Cataclysm' Possible *[TASS]* 20
Citizens Polled on Commonwealth Agreement *[IZVESTIYA 12 Dec]* 20
Zhirinovskiy on 'Neo-Bolshevik Practice' *[INTERFAX]* 21

Military

Decree on New Military Oath Promulgated *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 17 Dec]* 21
Army Said Valued Solely on Basis of Property *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Dec]* 21

BALTIC COUNTRIES

Baltic Affairs

IZVESTIYA Views Border Guard Plans *[14 Dec]* 23

Estonia

Republic Joins Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty *[BALTFAX]* 23
Treaty With Russia Ready for Ratification *[BALTFAX]* 24
Minister Signs Act Dissolving KGB *[BALTFAX]* 24

Lithuania

Extradition of Vilnius 'Coup' Plotters Urged *[TASS]* 24
Former Minister: KGB Agents in Parliament *[BALTFAX]* 24

RSFSR

Supreme Soviet

Further on Union Legislature Property Transfer 25
Khasbulatov, Union Discuss 'Winding Up' *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 18 Dec]* 25
Reports on Transfer 'Premature' *[Radio Rossii]* 25

'Nothing Remains' of Union Legislature *[TASS]* 25
Resolution Excerpt Released *[TASS]* 25
Union Guard Replacement Denied *[Moscow Radio]* 26
Bill on Security, State of Emergency Discussed *[INTERFAX]* 26
Draft 'Full of Philosophical Notions' *[TASS]* 26
Legislature Attempts To Settle 'Moscow Crisis' *[Moscow Radio]* 26
Law on Increasing Minimum Wage Adopted *[Radio Rossii]* 27
CPSU Finance Hearings Postponed One Month *[TASS]* 27
'Very Busy Schedule' Cited *[TASS]* 27
'Innovation Council' Results Discussed *[Moscow Radio]* 27
People's Deputy Ponders Minsk Agreement *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 17 Dec]* 28

International Affairs

Yeltsin on 2-Day Official Visit to Italy 30
To Sign Cooperation Agreements *[TASS]* 30
Departs for Visit *[TASS]* 31
De Michelis Meets Yeltsin *[TASS]* 31
Western Press Cited on Baker, Yeltsin Meeting *[PRAVDA 18 Dec]* 31
Rutskoy, Iran's Vice President View Relations *[TASS]* 32
Agree on Trade, Economic Ties *[TASS]* 32
Afghan Opposition Talks 'Tense' *[TASS]* 33
Poland's Deputy Premier on Official Visit 33
Meets With Gaydar, Yeltsin *[TASS]* 33
Balcerowicz, Gaydar Discuss Results *[Warsaw Radio]* 33
Further on Talks *[Warsaw Radio]* 34
Romania Sends Recognition Message *[TASS]* 34
Finland To Recognize Russia, Treaty Replaced *[TASS]* 34
Russia Must Remain 'Neutral' Over Honecker *[TASS]* 35

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Interviewed by Italian Newspaper *[Rome LA REPUBBLICA 17 Dec]* 35
Yeltsin Interviewed on Italian TV *[TASS]* 36
Further on Interview *[TASS]* 37
Yeltsin Issues Law Transferring Union Budget *[TASS]* 37
Budget, Land Reform, Food Decrees Approved *[Radio Rossii]* 38
Burbulis on Nuclear Controls, Possible Coup *[INTERFAX]* 39
Kozyrev: Nuclear Arms To Remain 'Centralized' *[Radio Rossii]* 39
Official Favors Economic Shock Therapy *[INTERFAX]* 39

WESTERN REPUBLICS

Interrepublic Affairs

TASS Rounds Up Baker's Visit to Minsk, Kiev 40

Belarus

Baker Visit Noted; Shushkevich Interviewed *[Moscow Radio]* 40
Leaders Discuss Visit *[TASS]* 40
Parliament Submits Commonwealth Amendments *[TASS]* 41
New Entry, Exit Rules on Foreigners Adopted *[INTERFAX]* 41

Moldova

Legislators Applaud Yeltsin Recognition *[TASS]* 41
Cossacks Arrive To Defend Dnestr Republic *[Moscow TV]* 41

Ukraine

Baker, Kravchuk Hold News Conference *[TASS]* 41
Workers Association Criticizes Commonwealth *[Kiev International]* 42
Republican Party Examines Commonwealth Accord *[Kiev Radio]* 42
Democratic Party Leader Views Commonwealth *[Kiev International]* 43

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Supreme Soviet Applauds Russian Recognition *[TASS]* 44
President Views Russia's Recognition *[Moscow TV]* 44
Republic Recognizes Russia's Independence *[Yerevan Radio]* 44
Ukraine, Kazakhstan To Recognize Republic *[INTERFAX]* 45
Republic Recognizes Kazakhstan Independence *[Yerevan Radio]* 45
Republic Recognizes Ukraine *[TASS]* 45
Supreme Soviet Debates 'Acute Energy Crisis' *[INTERFAX]* 45
Last Hostages Released 17 Dec *[ARMENPRES]* 45

Azerbaijan

President Takes Command of Caspian Fleet *[INTERFAX]* 46
Attacks Continue in NKAO; Stepanakert Shelled *[Yerevan Radio]* 46
Turkish Mediation Favored *[TASS]* 46
Interior Ministry's Training Center Seized *[INTERFAX]* 46
Leader: No Army Role in Armenian Conflict *[POSTFACTUM]* 46

Georgia

Leader's Appeal to Yeltsin on Interstate Ties *[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 13 Dec]* 47
Commander, President View Attacks on Soldiers *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Dec]* 47
Official Warns Troops of Confrontation *[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 7 Dec]* 48
Supreme Council Decree on Security Ministry *[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 7 Dec]* 48
New Members of External Relations Commission *[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 7 Dec]* 48
Resolution on Economy Commission Composition *[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 7 Dec]* 48
New Members of Human Rights Commission *[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 7 Dec]* 49

CENTRAL ASIA

Interrepublic Affairs

Economic Agreements Signed in Ashkhabad *[INTERFAX]* 50

Kazakhstan

Further on U.S. Secretary of State's Visit 50
Talks 'Quite Successful' *[Radio Rossii]* 50
Joint News Conference Given *[TASS]* 50
Nazarbayev Issues Report *[TASS]* 50
Further on Nazarbayev Report *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 18 Dec]* 51
Nazarbayev on Nuclear Weapons *[INTERFAX]* 51
Nazarbayev Rehabilitates 1986 Demonstrators *[IZVESTIYA 18 Dec]* 52
'Several Thousand' at Rally *[TASS]* 52
Foreign Minister on Islamic Conference Issues *[TASS]* 52
Republic To Continue To Send RSFSR Food *[Alma-Ata Radio]* 53
Weather Forecasts Cease Due to Lack of Finance *[Alma-Ata Radio]* 54

Kyrgyzstan

President Briefs Supreme Soviet on Baker Talks *[INTERFAX]* 54
U.S. Secretary of State's Visit Assessed *[IZVESTIYA 19 Dec]* 54
Further on Formation of National Guard *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Dec]* 55

Tajikistan

Republic Intends To Seek IMF Membership *[INTERFAX]* 55
Establishment of Bolshevik Party Announced *[ROSSISKAYA GAZETA 17 Dec]* 55

Uzbekistan

President Meets Turkey's Ozal, Demirel *[Moscow TV]* 55
Turkey To Aid Republic *[TASS]* 56
Turkey To Recognize Independence *[Moscow Radio]* 56
President Karimov Meets With Turkey's Ozal *[cross-reference]* 56
Food, Consumer Goods Coupons Introduced *[Moscow Radio]* 56
Birlik Movement Supports 'Muslim Commonwealth' *[INTERFAX]* 56
People's Democratic Party Plenum Meets 14 Dec *[Tashkent Radio]* 56

Arms Control & Disarmament

NATO 'Eagerly Waiting' for Baker Briefing

LD1912110291 Moscow TASS in English 1017 GMT 19 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Brussels December 19 (TASS)—A winter session of the NATO council, which opened here today, will focus on recent Soviet developments and the future of the nuclear arsenal of the collapsing Soviet Union. Foreign ministers of the 16 member-states of the alliance are eagerly waiting for U.S. Secretary of State to clear-up the nuclear developments in the new Commonwealth of Independent States.

James Baker has just finished his visit to the former Soviet nuclear republics of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan.

NATO is mostly worried by a possible republican split of the Soviet nuclear arsenal, NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner told the BELGA news agency on Wednesday [18 December]. The new state structures should replace the old ones by a peaceful transition, he said, adding that the alliance insists the new commonwealth preserve united control over the arms.

The foreign ministers of the NATO member-states will also discuss implementation of the new strategy of the alliance worked out in Rome and the results of the recent European Community summit in Maastricht, which decided to strengthen the NATO "European base".

European Inspectors Visit Military Districts

British Inspectors in Volga-Ural

LD1812174791 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, December 18 (TASS)—British inspectors verified on Tuesday [17 December] information supplied by the former Soviet Union about the armed forces deployed in the Volga-Ural Military District.

The inspection tour was organised in response to British requests under provisions of the Vienna document adopted in 1990 as a result of negotiations on confidence building and security in Europe.

Finnish Inspectors in Leningrad

LD1812202991 Moscow TASS in English 1935 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow December 18 TASS—Finnish inspectors today verified information about Soviet Armed Forces, supplied by the former Soviet Union, in the Leningrad Military District, the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate reported.

The inspectors visited the 134 motorized infantry regiment in the district.

The inspection was arranged in accordance with Finnish requests under the 1990 Vienna document on confidence-building measures and security in Europe.

Worldwide Issues

Western Bankers To Consider Debt Problem

PM1912113391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 91 Union Edition p 5

[IZVESTIYA press service report: "The West Agrees to Postponed Payment of Our Debts—France and EC Against Discussions on Aid to Former USSR"]

[Text] A consultative committee comprising representatives from 12 of the leading Western banks agreed on Monday, 16 December, to defer payment of the Soviet foreign debt. Representatives from the USSR Vneshekonombank [Bank for Foreign Economic Activity] and the Russian Central Bank also took part in the meeting, held in Frankfurt, Germany.

The Frankfurt conference did not resolve the fundamental problems pertaining to Soviet foreign indebtedness, but it did bring some kind of definition to the immediate future in an atmosphere where foreign banks are extremely worried over the fate of the money owed to them by the USSR.

Details about the meeting, which was clearly of a technical nature, were not disclosed. It is known that the deferment applies to loans and credits issued before 1 January 1991 and due for payment in the period between 5 December 1991 and 31 March 1992. The Vneshekonombank representative confirmed that this financial institution will be punctual in paying interest on all debts. The agreement to defer debts does not include state and private securities, bonds, and short-term credits. The Vneshekonombank representatives also informed the consultative committee of the situation regarding our foreign indebtedness, noting in particular the difficulties being experienced by sovereign states in honoring their obligations to service the debt.

World Bank experts estimate the Soviet Union's total foreign indebtedness to be a sum between $57 billion and $71 billion. Total installments for the end of 1991 constitute $23-26 billion.

The bulk of Western loans and credits—approximately 22 billions [currency not specified]—derive from Germany: Other large creditors are France, Japan, Italy, and Britain. The consultative committee which sat in Frankfurt comprised the Kreditanstallt-Bankverein, the Banque Nationale de Paris, Credit Lyonnais, the Kommerzbank, the Deutsche Bank, the Dresdner Bank, the Banca Commerciale Italiana, the Bank of Tokyo, Daiichi Kangyo Ginko, the Industrial Bank of Japan, Midland Bank, and the Bank of America.

Amnesty International To Open Moscow Office

OW1912000291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The independent public organisation Amnesty International is to have an information bureau accredited in Moscow. An order to that effect has been issued by Mayor Gavriil Popov.

The bureau will have the status of a legal entity with a right to open bank accounts in roubles or foreign currencies.

Gorbachev, Yeltsin Greet 'Hate' Conference

LD1812213591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1455 GMT 15 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow, 15 Dec (TASS)—The main themes of the international conference "Anatomy of Hate" are to discuss the ways to eradicate hatred from relations between people and to resolve conflicts by means of democratic reforms. Prominent politicians and scientists, litterati, and parliamentarians from European countries, as well as from the United States, are participating in the conference. The participants of the conference, which has been organized by the editorial office of the journal OGONYEK and by the humanitarian fund of Nobel Prize winner Elie Wiesel, were sent a greeting from the USSR and RSFSR presidents. New thinking, new political morals made it possible for trust and the observance of human rights to become the most important components of world politics, the USSR president's message reveals. Mikhail Gorbachev expressed confidence in a final victory for justice and peace both in our country and throughout the planet as a whole. The day will come, a message from the RSFSR president stresses, when hatred will become a thing of the past, together with war and human suffering. The international conference will continue its work until 17 December.

United States & Canada

Shevardnadze Views Future of Foreign Policy

LD1712162191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1430 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Report on joint news conference by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and External Relations Minister Eduard Shevardnadze with correspondent Andrey Ptashnikov in Moscow on 16 December; Shevardnadze remarks recorded]

[Text] [Ptashnikov] As we have reported, U.S. Secretary of State Baker is continuing his visit to our country. Today he is visiting Bishkek and Alma-Ata. The Moscow stage of his visit concluded yesterday with a meeting with Shevardnadze, USSR minister of external relations, and their joint news conference. Because this took place late last night, many of you might not know what was said. At the meeting Baker and Shevardnadze discussed bilateral relations and the situation in the so-called hot spots around the globe. They spoke about this at the news conference.

What the journalists were most interested in, however, was the tone and general mood of the participants. There was the impression that Baker and Shevardnadze were saying goodbye to each other, at least as two ministers. As far as we know, Baker does not intend to resign. So, Shevardnadze is the one who might be going. It is natural that the first question for Eduard Amvrosiyevich was about this. This is what he said:

[Shevardnadze] I was not a minister for almost 11 months. During that time Mr. Baker visited Moscow three times. We met each time. When I was in Washington we had a good, a beautiful meeting. I think that this practice, this friendship will continue.

[Ptashnikov] There was another question: Judging from all these changes that are taking place here, how do you envision our future foreign policy?

[Shevardnadze] If we are talking about the direction, so to speak, of foreign policy, I think that it should remain within the framework of the new political thinking. I mean the main guiding principles. As for the mechanism of working things out, coordinating and negotiating—this will probably be determined at the meeting of the presidents of the sovereign independent states. My personal opinion, for those who are interested, is that at the present stage it will be better to establish some transitional period, and then think about a stable, serious coordination center. A center sounds bad, but by this I mean the bodies that are engaged in coordinating and conducting foreign policy actions.

And last, the third question, in the same vein: What will become of the USSR Ministry of External Relations?

[Shevardnadze] I think that a lot will be made clear at the meeting of the presidents of the sovereign states that will be held in Alma-Ata. I think that whatever institutions—interrepublican or interstate—remain and whether they are needed at all will be determined there. Therefore, I do not want to anticipate events and talk about this. Speaking about foreign policy, I have already said that coordination is simply necessary and that a transitional period is needed. But this is a matter for the presidents.

[Ptashnikov] As you see, Eduard Shevardnadze did not offer the journalists a clear answer to the questions on his future and the future of his ministry. A feeling that he has been saying a provisional goodbye to us and Baker, at least in his capacity as a minister, still remained.

Only an hour ago it became known that Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, USSR minister of external relations, will not fly to Brussels, where he was to go in two days; i.e. on 19 December. At the NATO

Council session there—where the heads of the foreign departments of the former members of the Warsaw Treaty Organization are invited—our country, it seems, will be represented by USSR Ambassador Afanasyev.

Columnist on Baker Visit, CIS Recognition

PM1912115991 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Dec 91 First Edition p 7

[Sergey Demidov article: "Rubicon of USSR Not Yet Crossed, But Die Already Cast in Favor of Commonwealth of Independent States"]

[Text] If it is true that diplomacy is the art of the possible, official Washington has mastered it from "A" to "Z." James Baker, who is certainly not at the bottom rung on the U.S. Administration's hierarchical ladder, has been graphically demonstrating this in the last few days before the whole world community, stunned at the maelstrom (I hope, not in the face of the storm) of recent events in the Union.

During his first stopover in Moscow, under the schedule for his visit to the former country that until recently covered no more and no less than one-sixth of the earth's surface "from the taiga to the British seas," the U.S. secretary of state was able to cool rapidly the desire of a number of Russian politicians to effect a "qualitative jump" in the development of relations between the United States and Russia—formally speaking, between the two White Houses, on the banks of the Potomac and the Moskva River. They simply failed to get from him a deed attesting to U.S. recognition of the Russian Federation's status as an independent state. Although he set off to visit the USSR and has arrived in either the as yet fragile Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] or—to use the expression found in France's LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS—in a "country of chaos" in the political, economic, and social spheres, being experienced in the "great diplomatic game and expert in its unwritten and ever-changing rules," J. Baker has left the door wide open for Russian-U.S. dialogue to continue; moreover, to continue at a time when, in Washington's opinion, the time is right "to develop established direct ties" (as Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said).

So, the head of the U.S. foreign policy department "presented" the position espoused by President George Bush's "team" with regard to what is happening amid the wreckage of the Soviet empire. This is a cautious position, partially waiting to see when the laws of the art of the possible will be brought into force—in some respects the position of "moderation and careful diligence" renowned from Russian classical literature. Evidently, this is the only correct position. About 27,000 death-dealing nuclear warheads sited in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan, as well as on nuclear submarines, are at stake with the almost complete collapse of the "Indissoluble Union." Because the international community is trembling at the mere thought that a second "Yugoslavia" may emerge, involving the use of mass-destruction weapons, in comparison with which the civil war in Yugoslavia seems to be mere child's play, you can understand why the number one priority of the delicate "pilgrimage" by the head of the U.S. Department of State to the capital of Russia, as well as to Bishkek, Kiev, Minsk, and Alma-Ata, is to find the people holding the keys to these nuclear magazines.

It seems that James Baker has met with success from the very outset of his visit. He has already obtained assurances from President Boris Yeltsin that the member states of the emerging CIS will conclude a treaty on a defensive alliance with unified command and centralized control of strategic, including nuclear arms. Let us add that it will be incomparably simpler and more reliable to deal with this than with the republics of the former USSR that are rapidly falling away from the old center, in mortal fear. For God's sake, let this agreement not prove to be just another piece of verbiage.

The discussion of humanitarian aid to Russia, above all this winter, was another important question on the agenda of the talks in Moscow. Washington is promising to allocate another $100 million for transportation, plus another $100 million next year from other aid programs for technical assistance for the republics. Of course, this is a drop in the ocean, at least regarding the $15 billion which, according to some calculations, are required. But nonetheless....

It will after all be easier to emerge from the maelstrom of our problems with the realization that the matter of rescuing drowning men is not up to them alone.

That is why I would like to believe that when the Rubicon of the former USSR is finally crossed in two weeks, neither Russia nor the new commonwealth will remain in proud isolation. The die has been cast, and it has been cast in favor of the CIS. There is no way back. People across the ocean should draw this conclusion sooner rather than later.

Commentary on U.S. Moscow Embassy 'Bugging'

LD1912102191 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The Soviet security agency has confirmed that bugging devices were planted in the new United States Embassy compound in Moscow during its construction. The confirmation took the form of a Soviet decision to transfer technical documents relating to the use of these bugging devices to the American side.

The statement by the Soviet Interrepublican Security Service said that in 1967 [as heard] the Soviet leadership decided to have so-called special information gathering equipment installed in the new United States Embassy building. The decision was carried out during its construction between 1976 and 1982. When some of the

devices were uncovered and the American administration protested, the project was left unfinished, rendering the system inoperable. At that time the Soviet Government and its security service denied the project had ever existed. Even some retaliatory measures were taken. Soviet national television showed a news conference at the Soviet Embassy in the United States where embassy officials demonstrated American-made secret listening devices which had allegedly been found at the Soviet diplomatic headquarters in Washington, DC.

The U.S. Congress had to allocate close to $300 million to rebuild the already finished embassy compound in the Soviet capital. The latest move by this country's authorities will make it completely unnecessary for the American side to spend huge and pointless sums on reconstructing the building, said the statement of the Soviet security service. The agreement to turn over information about the bugs in the new U.S. Embassy building was reached by the Interrepublican Security Service, the successor to the KGB, and the U.S. ambassador, Mr. Robert Strauss. It was cleared with President Gorbachev and President Yeltsin.

In the statement the decision is said to have been prompted by the new level of relations between the two countries. An officer of this country's security agency who declined to give his name told Radio Moscow his service had taken the decision unilaterally without expecting reciprocal steps by the United States. He did not say, however, if there were any grounds for such steps to be taken. According to the press section of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow the U.S. Administration has had no comment so far on the Soviet decision.

Yakovlev on 'New Generation of Politicians'

LD1712203491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] The Soviet-U.S. conference "Modern Problems of Federalism" has started its work in Moscow today. It organizer is the Foundation for Social and Political Research, which, we remind you, was formed by Mikhail Gorbachev for helping professional politicians. Its tasks are analysis, diagnosis, and prediction. The U.S. side is being represented at the conference by high government officials, among whom are state governors, senators, large city mayors, and high court members. On the agenda was an exchange of opinions between the counterpart structures of the former Soviet Union and consultations with political analysts. During the break between sittings, our correspondent was given an interview by the honorary president of the foundation, Aleksandr Yakovlev.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] In your opening address you talked about the new generation of politicians that should come forward. Do you believe there are favorable conditions for such a generation to emerge?

[Yakovlev] If the democratic process and democratic procedures continue, then of course there will be such conditions. I think that if tomorrow, or after some time, the new elections...

[Correspondent, interrupting] There is no tomorrow for us, we are in a hurry.

[Yakovlev] Yes, we are indeed in a hurry. But I repeat, all the same: the elections will come. I think their outcome will be completely different from what we have now. Personally, I think that the present generation of democratically elected deputies would not stand a chance in competing with the next generation. This is my opinion.

[Correspondent] Thank you, Aleksandr Nikolayevich. [end recording]

[Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 1200 GMT on 17 December broadcasts a report that "Mikhail Gorbachev, the country's president, has sent greetings to the participants in the international conference 'Modern Problems of Federalism.' The greetings say that exchanging views will be as useful for U.S. experts as for Soviet ones. Mikhail Gorbachev wished the conference participants successful work."]

Near East & South Asia

Iraq's Tariq 'Aziz on USSR Dissolution

LD1812135391 Moscow TASS in English 1213 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow December 18 TASS—Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq 'Aziz believes that U.S. attempts to monitor the international system in recent years virtually single-handed have led to mounting global instability, lower global security and the weakening of the entire international system.

"The present-day world is extremely complex. It is beset by "a host of problems," the Iranian [as received] leader said in an interview published in the latest issue of the Soviet DEN (Day) literary weekly which calls itself the newspaper of the "spiritual opposition".

"Therefore these problems cannot be resolved with reliance only on brute force. What is needed is global but civilised historical approach which the U.S. leadership is lacking", he said.

Tariq 'Aziz is of the opinion that contemporary developments in the world—the events in Yugoslavia, Zaire, Togo, and the Gulf war—have been illustrative of the growth of a global chaos. "This is the direct consequence of U.S. claim to dominance," he stated.

The goal of the United States is to weaken the Soviet Union, the great power which "has been built over many centuries", Tariq 'Aziz maintains. He said what America seeks is to work towards the Soviet Union's catching fire from domestic conflicts and eventually disintegrate.

The Iraqi deputy premier calls on readers not to believe the West which, he said, "only pretends that it helps the USSR". In actual fact, the Iraqi leader maintains, the purpose of the West is to break up the USSR and then Russia as the "backbone" of the Soviet Union.

"When Russia grows finally weaker, your country would turn for a long time to come into a poor, secondary power, plagued by internal conflicts," Tariq 'Aziz warns Soviet leaders.

The Iraqi deputy premier emphasised that "special relations between the Soviet Union and the Arabs have been and are determined by historical, geopolitical interests of our peoples".

"The important role that the USSR has played in our region has never been an error. We would like to see the Soviet Union as a strong and mighty country. Your country must regain its traditionally major role in the international arena," Tariq 'Aziz said.

Georgiyev Comments on Li Peng's India Visit

BK1812154991 Moscow Radio Moscow in Hindi 1200 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Vasant Georgiyev commentary]

[Text] Chinese Premier Li Peng has concluded his visit to India. Our commentator Vasant Georgiyev writes:

During Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Beijing three years ago, this time also the border question was not on the agenda of the New Delhi talks. Answering newsmen's questions, Chinese Premier Li Peng said both sides decided to postpone the discussion on the issue to an appropriate date. Li Peng said the border dispute should not be allowed to hamper the development of relations between these two great Asian contries. The two countries pursued this policy three years ago and adopted the path of normalizing bilateral relations. Time has proven that India and China made the right decision at that time. As stated during the talks in New Delhi, both India and China achieved substantial gains by improving their bilateral cooperation. It is significant to note that they now trust each other. Considering all aspects, it is clear that the Chinese premier's current visit will give a new thrust to the process of bilateral relations.

The Delhi talks confirm that both countries have identical views on early solutions to various international and regional issues. India and China reaffirmed their faith in Pancasila, the five principles for peaceful coexistence. The leaders of the two countries said that these principles, which were adopted about 40 years ago, hold up against international disputes today. In the light of these principles, India and China have announced that they are opposed to any sort of imperialistic designs in the international arena. They condemned all sorts of attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and denounced any attempt to use force to resolve disputes. For instance, in one of his speeches in New Delhi, the Chinese premier said only through direct talks between India and Pakistan can the Kashmir issue be resolved.

In the joint communique, both sides welcomed the accords for a peaceful resolution of the Cambodian issue and favored a political solution to the Afghanistan issue through the establishment of a coalition government. India and China also hold identical views on the setting up of a just international economic order. Expressing concern over the widening gap between the developed and developing countries, India and China have announced that they would work to improve the situation.

Whatever the case, at the New Delhi talks, considerable attention was paid toward improving the bilateral ties. Several documents were signed for this. Both sides agreed to resume traditional border trade, reopen consulates general in Shanghai and Bombay, and expand cooperation in space research, science and technology. A memorandum of understanding was signed for a trade protocol in 1992, and the date for the third session of Sino-India joint economic commission was also set.

East Europe

Shaposhnikov, Hungary's Fur Sign Agreement

LD1812205891 Budapest MTI in English 2026 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, December 18 (MTI)—Hungarian Defence Minister Lajos Fur and Soviet Federal Defence Minister Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov today signed an agreement calling for regular consultations between the two ministries and supreme military commands.

After signing the document, Fur said that both sides adopted a responsible approach to the question of cooperation with regard to the political processes underway in the Soviet Union.

Shaposhnikov said he was hopeful that the new partnership would be more effective than in the earlier decades of "brotherhood-in-arms." He said that the Brest conference decided a lot of questions concerning the defence doctrine of the new state formation.

"We would like the Alma-Ata summit to ease the tension which presently surrounds the control over nuclear arms," Shaposhnikov said.

Fur will continue his talks in Kiev on Thursday [19 December].

Croatia's Gregurich on Soviet Arms Supply

92UF0357A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 11 Dec 91 p 4

[Interview with Fran Gregurich, deputy prime minister of the Croatian government, by special correspondent

Sergey Merinov; date not given: "Croatian Deputy Prime Minister: Yugoslavia Is No More"]

[Text] Zagreb—[Merinov] It seems that there is a real war going on in the Balkans.

[Gregurich] World War II was not as bad here as this one. It is simply impossible to imagine that such a thing is happening in Europe at the end of the 20th century. People are dying and every living thing is suffering. In Croatia—and the war is taking place only on its land—435 villages have been completely destroyed. Some 400,000 of the 550,000 refugees will return to empty ruins. In the rich Croatian villages the people had good homes and tractors. Everything produced by the labor of two or three generations has been wiped out, destroyed, and plundered. It is still difficult to imagine how severe the consequences have been.

I met some of our fighting men who had returned from Vukovar. These 20-year-old boys had lifeless eyes. They were old people, they had lived their lives, and they had died. How many of these people will we have and how will we return them to life?

[Merinov] I heard that you had a son at the front.

[Gregurich] Yes, he was a soldier. We have not heard anything from him for a long time; we, especially my wife, are having a hard time, but this is now the typical, "normal" condition for many families.

The Croatians are not invaders and never will be. It is now clear to the entire world that the aggressors are Serbia and the Yugoslav Army. Unfortunately, up to this point the main flow of information about the war is still going abroad from Belgrade—the capital of Serbia and the nonexistent Yugoslavia. There can be no discussion of any kind of objectivity here.

[Merinov] When can the war end?

[Gregurich] In the next month or two. The European Community is directing fairly serious diplomatic efforts toward this and the United Nations has decided to send its troops to Croatia and Bosnia. Serbia is counting on keeping the territory it has taken and would like to station troops along the front lines. Europe has four main objectives: to halt combat activity, withdraw the Yugoslav Army from the territory of Croatia, preserve the prewar borders between the republics, and regulate the minorities problems. Croatia will be recognized by 11 states in the near future. We will try to show that we fully respect the laws of the world community. We can also gain certain advantages from economic cooperation; after all, the war is very costly and we will have to build entire cities from scratch.

[Merinov] Why do you think that the Americans are so passive toward the Yugoslav conflict?

[Gregurich] I think it is their self-centeredness. Actually, it makes no difference to them what happens. Let the blood flow, but let the disintegrating Yugoslavia, that seething cauldron, remain under one lid so that nothing will spill out.

Money is another question. For them everything is built on money. Yugoslavia owes the West $14-15 billion. They are concerned: Who will pay? Croatia has a chance of repaying its share of the foreign credit, but can Montenegro and certain other republics pay? This is the problem; The creditors want guarantees. Let the people kill each other, but the money must be protected. It would be better if it were repaid by the one who received it; that is, Belgrade.

Finally, the Americans are always thinking about the Soviet Union: What could happen to that colossus if small Yugoslavia is falling apart in such torment?

Incidentally, the U.S. position is now changing, under Europe's influence.

[Merinov] Are there any direct contacts between the Croatian leadership and the federal government, the federal army?

[Gregurich] First, we must understand that the federation no longer exists. There are no representatives of Slovenia and Croatia in the federal organs, and now Bosnia is refusing to send its representatives. The same thing is true of the Army—it has become purely Serbian, but reservists are still being called up from Montenegro.

We have already raised the question of Yugoslavia's legitimacy before the United Nations and before Europe. Austria and Hungary have recalled their ambassadors from Belgrade. But you, on the contrary, sent a new ambassador to Belgrade in November. Is this really a serious approach?

As for contacts, we have none. Milosevic has forbidden his ministers to make contact with the Croatian side, even though we have established them. But he is simply a sick person. So we have to talk either with machine guns or through Europe or through Cyrus Vance.

It is very dangerous not only for us but also for Europe to have an immense accumulation of arms in the small space of Serbia, Bosnia, and Montenegro. One must also see that they are continuing to receive military aid from the Soviet Union: helicopters, missiles, and so forth—not directly but through Romania and other countries, unofficially, of course. But military deliveries keep coming, even after Presidents Gorbachev and Bush agreed to observe the embargo.

[Merinov] Have you asked Moscow about this?

[Gregurich] No and we will not.

West Europe

Envoy to Belgium To Attend Brussels Conference

LD1912113991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1043 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 19 Dec (TASS)—The USSR Ministry of External Relations reports that, in connection with the session of the Council of Cooperation of the 25 states (members of NATO and the countries of eastern and central Europe) being held in Brussels on 20 December, Nikolay Afanasyevskiy, ambassador to Belgium, who also maintains official contacts with the North Atlantic alliance, has been instructed to take part in this session by agreement with the sovereign republics.

At the council session, which is being convened by the NATO summit in Rome, it is proposed to adopt a political declaration on relations between NATO and the states of eastern and central Europe.

Troop Withdrawals From Germany on Schedule

LD1912025691 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Katyayev]

[Text] Berlin December 18 TASS—Before the end of the current year, 164,000 soldiers, officers and civilian employees of the Western Group of Soviet troops and members of their families will be withdrawn from Germany, or 9,000 people more than originally planned, Helmut Dumke, the Brandenburg government commissioner for defence industry conversion, said in Potsdam on Tuesday [17 December].

He cautioned against concluding, on the strength of the current pace of troop withdrawal, particularly that of military hardware and materiel, about the possibility of the group's withdrawal from Germany earlier than scheduled before 1994.

This is impossible because, as a result of political changes that have taken place in the former Soviet Union, there has arisen the need to resolve additional organisational matters and find new places on Soviet territory to accommodate Soviet units arriving from Germany, Dumke said.

A half of the military and civilian personnel of the Western Group of Soviet troops, which was originally numbered 542,000 people, will be withdrawn to Soviet republics from Germany before the middle of 1992, Dumke said.

German Banker on Credit, Russian Cooperation

PM1812142591 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 11 Dec 91 p 3

[Interview with Axel Leban, Deutsche Bank executive and "expert on the Soviet economy," by special correspondents V. Zozulya and Ye. Savishchev, datelined Bonn-Cologne; place and date not given: "The Russians Must Not Be Spoiled With Credit"]

[Text] [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Dr. Leban, until recently you were one of the people categorically opposed to economic aid for the Soviet Union—financial aid in particular. Now you have changed your mind. Why?

[Leban] I was opposed to your country being supplied with German credit, because the money was not being used in the best way. It seemed to vanish into a bottomless pit. This was not in the interests of either the giver or the receiver. But now there is every reason to believe that Germany and the sovereign republics which used to be part of the Soviet Union can reach clear agreements on the supply of credit for specific projects.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Does this mean that German banks will continue to allocate money to our republics, despite the fact that, according to German specialists, the former Soviet Union's total debt to your banks stands at 40 billion marks?

[Leban] German financiers are used to dealing with the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity, which was always punctilious about paying creditors on time. Now the situation has dramatically changed: The former Soviet Union's main foreign bank only pays the interest on credits. We realize that this abnormal situation cannot continue for long. The republic banks will undoubtedly carry the main burden.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] But what should Russia do if the other republics are not punctual in paying their share of the foreign debt?

[Leban] In that case, I believe all trade between Russia and the republics should be conducted in hard currency. For example, if the Ukraine were to pay for Russian oil and gas supplies in hard currency, in a short time the Russian government could have enough money to pay off the common debt.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Until very recently, Germany described the formation of joint enterprises with the USSR as a "general test of the Soviets' ability to cooperate with the West." Now, however, most of these joint enterprises are eking out a miserable existence. How can they be saved?

[Leban] The practice of setting up joint enterprises is considered to be the most progressive form of cooperation in the world economy. However, practice in your country goes against all traditional notions. The vast

number of provisos in the USSR Law on Joint Enterprises hampers their formation and operation.

We are now faced with a situation which requires urgent intervention by official authorities and the government. Perhaps the most important and most interesting joint enterprises can still be saved. I am mainly thinking of the pioneers in German-Soviet and German-Russian cooperation. If these joint enterprises collapse, this will have an extremely negative impact on the whole German business world.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] What else could cloud our economic relations?

[Leban] Oh, I could talk about that at great length. Talks on setting up a Soviet—now a Russian—trade and economic cooperation center in Duesseldorf have been going on for four years, for example. We had hoped that the Russian president would at least have laid a symbolic stone in the foundations of this center during his recent visit to Germany. However, our proposal was dropped from the high-ranking Russian guest's official program.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Does this mean the end of a good idea?

[Leban] Certainly not. We think the Russian president will find time to study our project, despite his busy schedule.

Let me give you an example to illustrate its importance. The first representatives of Japanese firms appeared in Duesseldorf in the early sixties. Today, more than 8,000 Japanese businessmen representing more than 400 different firms work permanently in this city alone. I would like to believe that the day when Russian business representatives set up office on the banks of the Rhine as a matter of course is not far off.

Congress of People's Deputies

Sufficient Signatures for Congress Gained

OW1812211891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The group launching the initiative of calling the 6th emergency USSR Congress of People's Deputies has gained the needed number of votes for doing so, INTERFAX has been told by the group's leader Vladimir Samarin. This has been made known today, Wednesday [18 December], to the USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The constitutional procedure for holding the Congress has been honoured, notes V. Samarin who went on to say that the date is to be set either by the President or the USSR Supreme Soviet. If neither of them name the date, the working group can do so.

V. Samarin explains his groups has collected 441 deputies' signatures, that is 1/5 of the their list including Baltic deputies. "Votes in support of holding a Congress are still coming in", added the leader of the initiative group.

In his words, the aim is "a thoughtful approach towards forming a new community and placing the process into a constitutional legal framework". V. Samarin refuted the suggestion that the Congress may put up a protest or even a confrontation against the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Supreme Soviet

Union Property Main Theme of Debate

PM1812132591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by S. Chugayev: "Russian Parliament Declared Its Rights to USSR Supreme Soviet Property"]

[Text] A meeting took place at midday 17 December between Union parliament leaders A. Alimzhanov and K. Lubenchenko and RSFSR Supreme Soviet Chairman R. Khasbulatov and leaders of the Russian parliament. The meeting's results became the main theme of the debate which took place in the USSR Supreme Soviet that day, which many people predicted would be the Union parliament's last.

This prediction was only partly justified. The meeting between the two parliaments' leaders was prompted by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's adoption of a resolution "On USSR Supreme Soviet Property," according to which all Union parliament property will be transferred to Russian parliamentary ownership. As a result of the meeting, Lubenchenko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, agreed to form part of a liquidation commission. As for the Soviet of the Republics, its chairman, Alimzhanov, declared that he views this event as forceful and preemptive pressure not only on the Union parliament but also on the five republics whose deputations continue to work in it. The leaders of these republics, especially Kazakhstan, have not agreed to recall their deputations and therefore the Soviet of the Republics should continue to operate. At any rate until the moment decisions are taken at the meeting of heads of former USSR states in Alma-Ata 21 December, Alimzhanov declared.

At the end of the afternoon sitting, Alimzhanov unexpectedly broke off the debate by announcing that parliament was suspending work until the next day. It is expected that a meeting between parliament leaders and the USSR president will take place. He also announced that there should be a meeting between M. Gorbachev and B. Yeltsin.

Gorbachev's Influence 'Brought to Nothing'

LD1812190191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Despite the Russian Government's decision to nationalize the building where sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet are held, a session of the USSR Soviet of Republics took place today. President Gorbachev promised to talk the Russian Government into not signing the decision on the nationalization of the building of the Union parliament. However, this decision was signed today.

According to one of the members of the presidium of the USSR Soviet of Republics, the USSR president's influence was brought to nothing. The Soviet of Republics promised that it would carry on working at least until the Alma-Ata meeting on 21 December, where heads of governments which used to be part of the USSR will express their attitude toward the Minsk agreement.

Political & Social

Gorbachev's Resignation, Future Options Viewed

'Will Respect' Choices

924B0144A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 50, Dec 91 p 1

[Report by N. Zyatkov: "Unofficially About the Official: The Fate of the President"]

[Text] On the morning of 12 December, while the RSFSR Supreme Soviet was listening to Yeltsin and ratifying the Agreement on the Commonwealth of Independent States, M. Gorbachev spent two hours with journalists. Despite appearing somewhat preoccupied, the USSR president looked rather firm and balanced—like a man who has finally decided on his fate.

In reply to a question from the ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent about his **potential resignation**, M. Gorbachev said that he will leave his post if the

Supreme Soviets of the other states and republics of the former Union join Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine.

"I will respect the choice of the representative organs," he said. Pondering the question of how many republics should do so before he resigns—five, seven, or more—M. Gorbachev said that it should probably be those nine republics that participated in the Novo-Ogarevo process. He also emphasized that he does not intend to get involved in any political activities, and that his resignation will be a warning to those who are committing the greatest mistake of the perestroyka years by advocating the dissolution of the country.

"There is no place for me in the new commonwealth of the three states," said M. Gorbachev, "so it is a waste of time for those who want to find me a job."

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] Have you talked on the telephone with Bush, Kohl, or Mitterrand during the last few days?

"No," replied M. Gorbachev. "After the agreement in Minsk was signed, Shushkevich called me and told me what had taken place. He also mentioned that they had gotten in touch with Bush on the telephone. I think it is shameful," emphasized M. Gorbachev, "to inform the U.S. President first, while their own president does not know anything yet. But I step over it. Personal grudge or, even more so, pressure are inappropriate here. Nothing can be resolved by force!"

[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY] There is much talk about CPSU money that was transferred abroad. As a former general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, did you know about it?

"I have asked that this subject be sorted out," said M. Gorbachev. "Comrade Panskov, who met with Comrade Kompaneyets of the financial administration of the CPSU Central Committee, reported to me that the CPSU does not have any large deposits in foreign banks, and that no money other than that earmarked for assistance to brotherly parties has been transferred abroad."

To Continue Political Activity

LD1812201691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Here is the very latest news. As the RUSSIAN INFORMATION AGENCY has just reported, Mikhail Gorbachev gave an interview today to ABC, the American TV company, and to Yegor Yakovlev, chairman of the All-Union Television and Radio Company. Mikhail Sergeyevich said that he intends to continue political activity after his resignation. The USSR president said he will take this step after the continuity of the transition from the Union to the Commonwealth is assured—when, according to Mikhail Sergeyevich, the era of the Union is finished and a new epoch begins. And may God grant that this new era brings prosperity to our peoples at last.

Need for 'Coordinating Organ'

PM1812230191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Dec 91 p 1

[Abridged version of interview with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev by V. Fronin and D. Muratov on 18 December; place of interview not given: "Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev Writes a Letter to Alma-Ata"]

[Text] [KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Yesterday the USSR Supreme Soviet liquidation commission began its work. Does this mean that your post is also being abolished?

[Gorbachev] ...If it's a matter of a new life, then let's have a new life, but within the framework of the law! I favor holding a final session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. If they arrive at the establishment of a Commonwealth in Alma-Ata, on the basis of the cofounders' documents light will be shed on the main question—what next? The position of the president, what happens to him next, will also have to be defined. I will weigh all this for myself.

I will make a decision, but the Supreme Soviet must have the last word. Then the whole process will take place within a constitutional framework. This is what I favor. We will preclude suspicions on the part of specific sections of society that they have been palmed off with something, that something was done behind their backs. I do not even rule out a referendum on the document concerning the Commonwealth after its ratification by the republics. The people themselves will decide. Not because I want to create obstacles or something—don't even suggest it.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Are you able to say right now what will be in your letter to Alma-Ata?

[Gorbachev] Probably...yes. I will send it today (Let us recall that the interview took place 18 December 1991—Editorial Note). It deals with the institutions of power, with legal succession. I wrote to my colleagues that a process of the dismemberment [raschleneniye] of the country is under way, a transition to new forms of life. That is too serious a matter. I wrote that since this country was formed as a single country, I favor the formula "Union of Sovereign States."

However, even the current process can be enriched and made viable.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Nonetheless, if it is possible, could you tell us about the main propositions of your letter...

[Gorbachev] The upshot could be that you get to know before my colleagues. I would like to avoid this.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Why did you have to write a letter?

[Gorbachev] The republics want to conduct the process themselves, and I did not receive an invitation. I chose this way.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] We are nonetheless very curious about the specific points of the letter.

[Gorbachev] I will make no secret of it. The economic treaties between the republics must be confirmed! Otherwise, there will be total disintegration. Apart from that, there must be some kind of coordinating organ!

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Or a consultative one?

[Gorbachev] No, I mean precisely a coordinating organ.

[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA] Some kind of center, nonetheless?

[Gorbachev] Well, if people are tired of the Interstate Economic Committee, then let it be a different structure. Functions which the republics find unacceptable could be pruned, but it simply has to be! You can't have unspecified people meeting at unspecified times to adopt general decisions! Who will perceive the processes, influence them, and react? It is not a question of a center! No one can sidestep the logic of life. Therefore, in the Alma-Ata letter I press for the preservation of such a structure. It is not a question of what happens to me—if only they understood this! I will decide about my future after the Alma-Ata meeting, and I promise you I will immediately tell KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA what's what. But that is not at all important now.

(M.S. Gorbachev's interview with V. Fronin and D. Muratov will be published in full in the next editions.)

Allegedly Signed Resignation

LD1912051791 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0430 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Kazakhstan will not be a nuclear-free state; the USSR seat in the UN Security Council, which Russia has a claim on, should belong to the entire Commonwealth of Independent States—this is how Nursultan Nazarbayev assesses the position of his republic. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA is publishing an interview with him today. The paper also reports sensational news: according to reliable information, Mikhail Gorbachev signed a decree on his own resignation yesterday. The date has not been put down in the document. It is expected that it will be filled in either on the day the Alma-Ata meeting is held, 21 December, or next Monday, 23 December.

Gorbachev yesterday sent the text of an appeal to the participants of the meeting in Alma-Ata. He is copying necessary extracts from the Kremlin archives because in the next few days access to the archives will be halted based on a decision by the Russian authorities. According to other reports, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will continue his activities until the Commonwealth forms new coordination bodies.

Resignation Report 'Groundless'

LD1912082491 Moscow TASS in English 0805 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow December 19 (TASS)—Soviet presidential spokesman Andrey Grachev on Thursday [19 December] denied mass media reports that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has signed a decree on his resignation but left the date open.

The newspaper NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA quoted "reliable sources" saying "on December 18 Mikhail Gorbachev signed a decree on his resignation. There is no date on the document, but it is expected to be put either on the day of the meeting in Alma-Ata (December 21) or next Monday".

The newspaper said Gorbachev is working on an appeal to the participants in the meeting in Alma-Ata, using Kremlin archives, which will soon be sealed by Russian authorities.

Grachev, however, denied these reports as groundless.

Likhotal on Resignation

TA1912081691 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 0630 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Telephone interview with Aleksandr Likhotal, spokesman for Mikhail Gorbachev, by 'Amos Har'el and Moshe Hakohen; in English—live]

[Text] [Har'el] Good morning, Mr. Likhotal in Moscow. We have heard here in Israel that Mr. Gorbachev has signed a resignation. What have you heard?

[Likhotal] Good morning. Well, frankly speaking this is.... [changes thought] Unfortunately, I have no information as of now, but yesterday we spoke to President Gorbachev and he didn't say a word about this resignation which allegedly is already signed. I don't think so; I heard this news yesterday by Soviet television, and they have said that it was the Russian Information Service. I don't know whether the RUSSIAN INFORMATION SERVICE is close to the president and his press service, but in the president's press service, there is no information on his resignation.

[Har'el] Mr. Likhotal, do you suggest that it might have been manipulated by Boris Yeltsin's people or the people who would like to see Gorbachev out as soon as possible?

[Likhotal] No, no, no, I am not hinting at such a probability. I don't see any possibility of this situation. I am just thinking that some journalists want to be the first to communicate the sensation, and they are just inventing this sensation, hoping this would be the truth. But this is not yet the truth.

[Har'el] Mr. Likhotal, right now in Moscow, do people know about this? Are people reacting? Are people perhaps panicking?

[Likhotal] No, there is no panic, and we have become used to very irresponsible statements in our press. So this is one more example of this irresponsibility. There is no panic and everything goes on as usual.

[Har'el] Have you had a chance to meet Mr. Gorbachev today?

[Likhotal] No, not yet. It is only nine o'clock, and I have just entered my office.

[Har'el] And when are you supposed to meet him?

[Likhotal] Well, that depends not on me, but on the president.

[Hakohen] Mr. Likhotal, can you tell us a little bit about the mood of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev these days?

[Likhotal] Yes. Yesterday he met a large group of journalists, among them some commentators from ABC of the United States and from Soviet television, and he discussed his general outlook, his evaluations of the process that is going on in the Soviet Union. He seemed very relaxed and confident of the question whether he previews a political role for himself. He said that by all means, he will be acting in a political sense, and he said that it is not necessary to be the president or to take some official position to remain a political figure.

[Hakohen] Mr. Likhotal, we have a question which is of great concern to us, the people of Israel: Do you know, or did Gorbachev mention what the future role of the Soviet Union—if we can refer to a body like that—will be in future negotiations in the Mediterranean [as heard], in the peace talks? What will the situation be from now on? Who will represent the Soviet Union, if something like that exists?

[Likhotal] Well, he did not address this specific question. He only touched upon his view about the probable separation of the union, and he said that this will be very dangerous and this could destabilize the world situation, but he did not address any specific problems. I suppose time is not yet ripe for that.

[Har'el] Mr. Aleksandr Likhotal on the line from Moscow, thank you very much for joining us.

[Likhotal] Not at all; it is a pleasure.

Alma-Ata Message Sent

LD1812203491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2000 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 18 December (TASS)—USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev sent a message today to the participants in the meeting of leaders of sovereign states. This was announced to a TASS correspondent at the press service of the USSR president.

The meeting will take place in Alma-Ata on 21 December. It is expected that it will be devoted to the issue of creating a Commonwealth of Independent States on the territory of the USSR.

According to Anuarbek Alimzhanov, chairman of the Soviet of the Republics of the USSR Supreme Soviet, who met Mikhail Gorbachev today, the letter stresses the necessity of preserving continuity in creating a new form of statehood, which must be implemented in a legal, constitutional manner.

Alimzhanov reported at the session of the Soviet of the Republics of the USSR Supreme Soviet that the message also contains proposals regarding the text of "the agreement of the three" and the documents of the Ashkhabad meeting.

Transitional Period Examined

PM1812221991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Dec 91 Union Edition p 1

[Report by G. Alimov: "Gorbachev and Yeltsin Believe That the Transition From the USSR to the Commonwealth of Independent States Can Be Completed by Mid-January"]

[Text] USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev continues to perform his duties despite the very complex situation which has taken shape. As Andrey Grachev, head of the president's press service, stated at the 17 December briefing, "until a constitutional decision on the formation of the Commonwealth is adopted by the former members of the former Union, the USSR and all its organs continue to exist."

It is a matter of a transitional period. According to some estimates, it may last until mid-January. One of its important stages will be the meeting of the sovereign states' leaders in Alma-Ata 21 December. According to A. Grachev, with the signing of the agreement on other independent states' entry into the Commonwealth, "the process of the formation of the Commonwealth will attain a new level." Then it is expected that the agreement will be discussed by these states' parliaments. "If this process follows this course, only then will one state cede its place to the other," the USSR president's spokesman said.

Speaking of M. Gorbachev's plans and anwering a question about how he is feeling, A. Grachev replied that "the president feels well, he is on form." M. Gorbachev believes that it is important that he concentrate on the following areas during the transitional period. He intends to use all the opportunities available to him to avoid an exacerbation of the political situation and to seek to ensure that political forces "work" for society's stability. "He will take care and insist that the transitional period takes place within a democratic framework, constitutionally, and in an atmosphere of glasnost and openness," A. Grachev stated. "The president intends to ensure the continuity of the international pledges assumed by the USSR. There are some 15,000 of them."

Summing up what the head of the USSR president's press service said, it is possible to draw the conclusion that M. Gorbachev's main motto for the transitional period can be formulated as follows: constitutionality, order, continuity, and the stability of society.

The president's work schedule remains fairly tight. He constantly maintains contact with the leaders of sovereign states and is meeting with politicians, scientists, and journalists. M. Gorbachev also pays much attention to the work of the Committee for Humanitarian Aid set up under the head of the USSR. The main question here is how to deliver and distribute the humanitarian aid which is arriving. Joint structures at the international level and the level of Soviet public organizations for the distribution of this aid will be set up with the active participation of the president.

Replying to a question about M. Gorbachev's fate, A. Grachev declared: "I do not have the impression that the Gorbachev era is coming to an end. He is a man who has associated himself not with a specific post, but with a process. We will be talking about his era for quite some time yet."

Intelligence Service To Remain 'Centralized'

LD1812154191 Moscow TASS in English 1353 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Igor Peskov and Sergey

[Text] Moscow December 18 TASS—The Soviet Central Intelligence Service (CIS) will be kept intact as a single, centralised structure, Tatyana Samolis, press secretary of the CIS director, told the first news conference of the CIS public relations bureau here today.

The CIS and its personnel are "the country's national asset and the CIS immense experience gained over decades should not be discarded", Samolis said.

She described as absolutely unfounded the rumours about a possible resignation of CIS director Yevgeniy Primakov. At the same time, she said that a new first deputy director of the CIS was appointed recently: Vyacheslav Trubnikov, 47, a career intelligence officer.

Samolis recalled that President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation had said in one of the latest interviews that there was awareness in the Russian government and the governments of other sovereign states that intelligence service should be preserved as a centralised structure.

The CIS spokeswoman believes that all sovereign states of the old Soviet Union are interested in receiving information from the secret service. In view of that, they will participate in financing the CIS. However, the bulk of funds will undoubtedly come from the government of Russia, she added.

Speaking about plans for the reorganisation of the secret service, Samolis said the problems had been discussed, with due regard for the processes taking place in the country and the world, during Primakov's meeting with the Russian parliament Commission for Security and during his regular contacts with the leadership of Russia.

Reorganisation will be effected in the interests of national security. According to the press secretary, it is planned to somewhat reduce the staff of the central office and networks abroad.

The CIS director's press secretary, speaking about reports that have appeared in the press, on the recruitment of Americans taken prisoner during the war in Vietnam by the KGB secret service, said that there had been a one-off contact with one of such Americans suspected of connections with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. However, the contact had not been furthered because the American declined further meetings.

In response to questions, Samolis said that the Soviet secret service did not and does not have agents in former socialist countries from among local citizens.

In corroboration of this, she quoted the Soviet government's 1949 resolution signed by Stalin ordering the secret service to discontinue intelligent agent operations in people's democracies, disband agent networks, and cease further recruitment of agents.

News Conference Held

LD1812233191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Report on news conference with Tatyana Samolis, Central Intelligence Service press secretary, by correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov in Moscow on 18 December—recorded]

[Excerpt] As already reported, in the course of reorganizing the Committee for State Security, a Central Intelligence Service has been established. Yevgeniy Primakov has been put in charge of it and given press secretary Tatyana Samolis who, as promised, will be giving an account of what is going on in the depths of the domestic intelligence service at least once a month. Tatyana Samolis held her first briefing on 18 December. So, intelligence information will obviously be as available from the horse's mouth now as it has been before from books by Yulian Semenov, a writer about Soviet intelligence. Our correspondent Vyacheslav Osipov was at the briefing.

[Begin recording] [Osipov] For a start, Tatyana Samolis gave information which, as she said, shows that the work of Yevgeniy Primakov's Central Intelligence is open in its nature. In particular, he met Russian parliamentarians and discussed with them the reorganization of intelligence bodies. Primakov received a NATO delegation which he informed about the tasks of intelligence

under the changing conditions. Meetings with ambassadors and foreign journalists were held along with a conversation with veterans of foreign intelligence services. Next, Tatayana Samolis answered questions which journalists had sent in advance. I think that listeners may find some of them interesting. A Megapolis-Express correspondent asked a question about the support of the CPSU and the KGB for the formation of the Red Brigades. Tatayana Samolis said they had never supported that. Some of the statements by the Italian side about the involvement of the CPSU and the KGB are based on mere speculations. Did the KGB take part in recruiting U.S. prisoners of war during the Vietnam war?

[Samolis] Yes, there were unique contacts between a representative of our service and one, I stress, one U.S. prisoner of war who was suspected of being a CIA agent. These contacts were not developed since, according to the Vietnamese side which had organized these talks, the U.S. representative refused to have any further meetings.

[Osipov] Did the KGB use the intelligence network of Czechoslovakia after the war?

[Samolis] The KGB had no network of agents among the local population. I am prepared to adduce the following document. This document is being made public for the first time. It has a "special importance" seal. Here is why: The 2 August 1949 decision by the USSR Council of Ministers, Moscow, the Kremlin. The USSR Council of Ministers adopted the following decision: First, to recognize that the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Committee and the USSR Armed Forces Intelligence Service have been ordered to cease intelligence work in the countries of people's democracy—Poland, Czecholsovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Albania, and DPRK; and second, to disband in these countries the functioning intelligence network and ban the future recruitment of new agents. The document was signed by USSR Council of Minister Chairman Stalin and Pomastyev, administrator for the affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers.

[Osipov] Tatayna Samolina shed a great deal of light on another historical fact—on the fate of part of the gold reserve of Admiral Kolchak. She said that she had certain archive documents to the effect. As to modern days issues, this is what she said in reply to questions about the place the Central Intelligence Service will take in the future, and whether there may not be any USSR in the near future.

[Samolis] After all, the U.S. regards its intelligence service as the best form of security. So an intelligence service must exist as long as intelligence services exist in states throughout the whole world. So there will also be an intelligence body in whatever is to replace our hapless state.

[Osipov] The Central Intelligence Service press secretary said that this organization will be financed in the future mainly by the Russian Government. Tatyana Samolis commented on the availablity and accessibility of information to journalists about intelligence service archives.

[Samolis] Journalists or anyone else will have no access, of course, to archives which are of operational importance but you will, of course, receive some information on the question on which you are working. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Primakov Unaware of Report Transfer

LD1912050191 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0300 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] It was only from the newspapers that Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Central Intelligence Service, found out that Vadim Bakatin, chairman of the Interrepublican Security Service, had handed over to the U.S. ambassador in Moscow the technical documentation about the eavesdropping equipment that had been installed in the new U.S. Embassy building. This was revealed today by Primakov's press secretary, Tatyana Samolis, at a briefing.

Shevardnadze on Commonwealth, Gorbachev Role

PM1812170091 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE SONDAG in Danish 15 Dec 91 p 14

[Report by Flemming Rose: "Shevardnadze Fears Total Disintegration Without the Creation of a New Organization"]

[Text] Moscow—The foreign minister of the former Soviet Union, Eduard Shevardnadze, supports the new community of former Soviet republics which is taking shape on the territory of the former Soviet Union. However, Shevardnadze questions the legality of the agreement reached by the Slav republics a week ago. "I welcome the three Slav republics' initiative. But for the time being there is no new community. It is only just beginning to take shape. The future will show what form of community it will be. In the meanwhile there are masses of problems, and I fear that we will see the total disintegration of central power without the simultaneous creation of new coordinated structures," Shevardnadze told BERLINGSKE TIDENDE.[passage omitted]

"For the time being Soviet nuclear arms are under the control of one person. But it is unclear what will happen in the future. There is every possible reason for concern. We are witnessing the disintegration of a state and the formation of a whole new organization with new leaders, said Shevardnadze, who yesterday opened the constituent congress of the Movement for Democratic Reforms.

The movement was formed in July by a number of former top communists in an attempt to weaken the old-style communist wing in the party.

The question of control over the Soviet Union's nuclear arms is complicated. Shevardnadze thinks that they should be under the control of a civilian, who also

occupies a leading political post. This view has the support of President Gorbachev's to adviser, Georgiy Shakhnazarov.

"I cannot imagine a supreme commander of the Armed Forces without any political power. Otherwise he would be an exclusively military figure," Shakhnazarov told BERLINGSKE TIDENDE. Shakhnazarov cannot imagine Gorbachev in the role of supreme commander without him also holding a political office.

Georgiy Shakhnazarov told BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that Gorbachev has no plans to retire as long as negotiations are taking place.

"Gorbachev wants to prevent a catastrophe in the transitional period. It is his duty to the country to do so. He is responsible for the Army, he has no right to go now."

This view is shared by Eduard Shevardnadze:

"There is room for everyone in this process. We have so many problems to struggle with that there is a need for Gorbachev and perhaps also for me. I do not think that Gorbachev will resign either today or tomorrow. Both he and I are intent on making our contribution to the formation of the new community. He can be of use in this process. The Russian leadership is also aware of this. I advise him against resigning now," said Shevardnadze, who thinks that the the danger of a new coup is still impending and that the disintegration of the Soviet Union has created enormous problems.

"The republics are talking about retaining a common currency. That will be a painful process. How are we to share out the country's foreign debt and its property? When I move out of the Foreign Ministry building, I think that all the republics will lay claim to it. And what about the Soviet embassies and trade missions abroad? The Soviet Union has entered into 15,000 international agreements. Who will assume responsibility for them? That sort of problem is not solved by sitting down together for two days and signing some declaration," Shevardnadze told BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in a clear reference to the way in which last weekend's historic agreement between Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine came about.

News Conference

OW1812035191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1655 GMT 17 Dec 91

[By Mikhail Mayorov from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze still seems to be hoping that some bodies of centralized management—especially in the foreign political sphere—will be preserved in the new Commonwealth of Independent States, although they may undergo considerable restructuring. Addressing a news conference that summed up his talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, Mr. Shevardnadze indicated that the presidents of sovereign republics, due to meet in Alma-Ata shortly, may vote for the creation of a centre to coordinate their foreign political efforts—and that despite the fact that the word "centre" sounds outmoded today.

In Shevardnadze's view the final disintegration of the Union and the emergence of new structures may be interceded by some kind of a transitional period during which the republics might agree to have a coordinating foreign political centre. According to some sources, this possibility has already been discussed with the Russian leaders, who, however, tend to regard all Union structures as completely archaic.

The Ukraine, for its part, dismisses the very possibility that any issue having to do with the republic's future may be decided in Moscow. In that sense, Mr. Shevardnadze is definitely not the man to cherish any illusions. As a veteran politician he is fully aware of the fact that the Union ministries, one of which he is heading, are doomed to scrapping.

Most probably, there is something here that is not to be found in every politician, to say nothing of such an outstanding figure as Eduard Shevardnadze. What is meant here is the deeply-rooted sense of decency which keeps this rather impulsive man from slamming the door and prompts him to remain in one team with his colleagues and Mikhail Gorbachev out of solidarity.

"I still consider Mikhail Gorbachev to be my friend, so we must pass this exam together," said Eduard Shevardnadze, who is obviously distressed by the current developments and who does not rule out that the Alma-Ata meeting may decide to scrap the centralized structures altogether. After all, his personal experience prompts him that one should not necessarily be a president or a minister to be useful to society. At least this is what Eduard Shevardnadze said after obviously his last talks as Soviet foreign minister with James Baker.

Reform of Law-Enforcement Organs Prepared

LD1812210691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1926 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Moscow, 18 Dec (TASS)—The new reform of the law-enforcement organs is being prepared—unification of the Federal Security Agency, recently created in Russia on the basis of the former republican KGB, with the Ministry of Internal Affairs (it is not stated which one precisely, Russian or Union one) and the interrepublican security services—asserts RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA.

In its tomorrow's issue, it is being pointed out that the newspaper has learned this from "reliable sources close to Russian government circles."

Problems in Foreign Policy Transition Viewed

LD1912122391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Dec 91

[Commentary by Igor Amvrosov]

[Text] Modern history knows of no precedent for the disappearance of one huge state from the political map of the world, to be replaced by 15 new ones at one go. Such a situation would perplex many people, including specialists on international law. For them the transformation of the USSR into the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] is not only and not so much a subject of academic interest. All right, a state is disappearing as a component of international relations and international law. Theoretically this is acceptable. But, in practice, the nations of the world community are tied together by so many threads that the severance of just some of these ties can upset the equilibrium of the entire system.

The agreement worked out in the Belovezhskaya Pushcha says that one of the institutions of the future CIS will concern itself with the coordination of foreign policy. So, that makes it clear that the foreign policy of the sovereign states which belong to the CIS will be coordinated. But the agreement completely bypasses a question which specialists on international law find extremely important. Who will inherit the responsibilities of the USSR, now that it is disappearing as a geopolitical reality?

Article 12 of the Belovezhskaya Pushcha agreement says that its participants guarantee that international obligations which fall to them as a result of treaties and agreements signed by the former USSR will be honored. But international political and juridical obligations cannot be divided up into x number of parts or be fulfilled in terms of percentages.

Both international organizations and individual countries will have questions to ask of the new commonwealth. If we follow the sun from east to west, then we can see that the Chinese will be among the first to ask questions. With whom will they discuss a border settlement in the Pamirs? And who will implement the accords that have already been reached between China and the USSR? The Afghan mojahedin will also have a question to ask. With whom will they now negotiate on the fate of Soviet POWs? All the Middle East countries will be interested to find out who will take the USSR's place as cosponsor of the conference on a Middle East settlement. Will the Arabs agree to this forum being held under the auspices of the United States alone? The fulfillment of economic agreements and the servicing of the foreign debt make up a huge, independent circle of problems. Honoring of humanitarian agreements is another group of problems.

In other words, the situation is so complicated that it will require extremely detailed attention, not just from member states of the CIS but from other members of the international community. This new community will unquestionably need to call on the tremendous experience accumulated by the USSR's diplomatic service. Simply to dissolve it or hand it over to any single member of the CIS would greatly complicate the integration of the newly independent states with the world community. Another solution needs to be found. One envisages this solution to be the earliest possible creation of a body to coordinate the foreign policy of the community countries.

Dispute Between Paper, Publishers Examined

LD1712223591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1522 GMT 17 Dec 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Galina Vinitskaya]

[Text] Moscow, 17 December (TASS)—The Committee for the Media of the Russian parliament has recommended that the PRAVDA newspaper and the Pressa publishing house (formerly PRAVDA publishing house) settle the dispute which has arisen between them by holding talks on the basis of the law or by referring to the court of arbitration. This decision was adopted today at a session of the committee, which was appoached by the PRAVDA collective with a request to act as arbitrator to settle the dispute. The management and employees of the newspaper and the publishing house, and representatives of the media took part in the session.

Setting out the essence of the dispute, Gennadiy Seleznev, the paper's chief editor, said that having heard that PRAVDA was starting to locate its commercial services on the 10th floor (which the newspaper occupies), the publishing house ceased to issue passes to the paper. Last Saturday, 14 December, the floor was cordoned off by police, and now entry there has been prohibited and the telephones and lighting have been switched off. The paper's editors, according to Gennadiy Seleznev, believe this dispute to be "political" and have demanded of Pressa "a civilized dialogue and a balance of distribution."

Vyacheslav Leontyev, a director of the publishing house, stated that "the divorce suit occurred because when the PRAVDA publishing house was changed to Pressa, all the property was passed over to the share of Pressa." He considers it blasphemy to site commercial services which have no bearing on the technology of producing the newspaper on premises which Pressa had allocated to ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, having asked PRAVDA (which has sufficient premises) to make more room.

Mikhail Fedotov, RSFSR deputy minister of press and information, is convinced that this dispute "is not political, but legal-economic" and that it must be settled not by parliament "but by a court of arbitration." Up to now, pending a court decision, the property has belonged to the Pressa publishing house, he stressed. Mikhail Fedotov also recalled that according to the rules of the independent PRAVDA newspaper, since 29 August the

founder of the newspaper has been its collective, the primary organization of the USSR Union of Journalists, which is also setting up a state fund, including property, to insure its activity.

PRAVDA's Viewpoint

PM1912113191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 91 p 1

["Own information" report: "Not by Force, But by Law"]

[Text] The conflict over PRAVDA has been discussed in the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee on the Mass Media.

For what are PRAVDA's employees struggling in the conflict with the leadership of the Pressa Publishing House, now into its second week? Our opponents would very much like to portray the editorial board's position as wishing at all costs to uphold comfortable conditions for themselves—at the expense of journalists of other publications. And they adduced such arguments at yesterday's session of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Committee for the Mass Media.

Fortunately, a majority of committee members who participated in the discussion approached the conflict from a more objective viewpoint. As befits people's deputies, they perceived behind the property-legal dispute the acute problems of the mass media's survival under the new conditions. They saw that it is necessary to resolve these problems not with strong-arm methods, not with the help of the militia and by cutting off light and telephones, but on the basis of the law, and only the law. PRAVDA employees fully agree with this approach and are grateful to the Russian legislators for their attention to the needs of the country's oldest newspaper.

However, it is not only a matter of PRAVDA's needs. Many of our colleagues in the capital and in the provinces are ending up in an similar position. Previously they were suffering under pressure from the partyocracy, and today from attempts at undemocratic rule by the new executive power. A proposal was made to discuss these problems in parliamentary hearings.

The participants in the session, which was chaired by Committee Chairman V. Bragin, expressed the conviction that vexed questions between the Pressa Publishing House and the PRAVDA Editorial Board will be settled by means of talks. Such talks are beginning today. We will report their results to our readers.

Central TV To Switch to Russian Jurisdiction

PM1912114791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 91 p 2

[Report by D. Babich: "K. Borovoy in Seventh Heaven: Drastic Changes at Former Central Television"]

[Text] INTERFAX reports that on 16 December Yegor Yakovlev, chairman of the All-Union Television and Radio Company, announced to his colleagues via the Ostankino internal television network the company's upcoming transfer to Russian jurisdiction. As Dmitriy Golovanov, adviser to the company president, told us, this step in no way means a merger with the Russian Television and Radio Company. To use Yakovlev's own expression, the company will remain a "hoop around the collapsing barrel" of the former Union.

The switch to Russian jurisdiction means, first, that Central Television will be subject to Russian laws only and, second, that its workers' wages will be paid out of the Russian budget. In the future it is intended to turn it into a joint-stock company. The working title for the new company is the Ostankino Television and Radio Company. A Yeltsin decree switching the television and radio company to Russian jurisdiction is expected to be signed on 27 December.

D. Golovanov confirmed the INTERFAX information that Konstantin Borovoy, president of the Russian Commodity and Raw Materials Exchange, is appointed Yakovlev's economic adviser, noting that the country's top broker will serve as consultant—"an outside expert."

The trickiest issue for Central Television and Radio is where to get the money to pay for the relaying of Central Television programs throughout the territory of the former Union. Payment for satellites, cables, and other equipment which was formerly the property of the Ministry of Communications amounts to 74 percent of all the television and radio company's expenditure. This money was previously paid out of Union funds, but who will allocate it now?

Komsomol Revival Movement Holds Conference

LD1912123591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 14 Dec 91

[Report by correspondent A. Kondulukov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A session of the organizational committee of the Movement for the Revival of the Komsomol [dvizheniye za vozrozhdeniya komsomola] took place in Moscow today. The young builders of communism are protesting against the renaming of the All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League as the Russian Youth League [rossiyskiy soyuz molodezhi] and also against the trampling of the great ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The young communists consider the Komsomol leaders of the 1920s to be their ideal and are prepared to adhere to their glorious traditions—though not as far as dress is concerned, it's true, given that not everyone can afford a revolutionary's leather jacket these days. The Komsomol members are not put out by this, however, and are conducting active political work, taking part in meetings on the Manezh Square, disseminating leaflets and their own newspaper, BUMBARAZH. Their number only about 4,000. They oppose price increases, liberalist

privatization, the banning of communist ideals on television, and separatism in the youth movement. The young Leninists hope to become a collective member of the Democratic Youth League [demokraticheskiy soyuz molodezhi), and at the same time, evidently, to share with it the burden of utilizing the millions of rubles inherited from the Komsomol.

TASS Carries Press Review for 18 Dec

LD1912120991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0703 GMT 18 Dec 91

["Review of Moscow Papers"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Dec (TASS)— On 18 December NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA publishes an interview with Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy who levels harsh criticism at the policy of the present Russian leadership. The vice president, in particular, stated that "there is no power an no democracy in Russia today".

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA publishes an article by Candidate of Historical Sciences Arkadiy Chereshnya who believes that the forthcoming economic reform in Russia is going down a "desperately dangerous" path, "on which either everything could be won, or the country and its long-suffering people could be dealt a final blow".

Commenting on the outcome of United States Secretary of State James Baker's visit to Moscow and other capitals of former republics of the USSR, PRAVDA writes: "Baker's visit solved little and will bring very little, except for new impressions for Washington. They are clearly not keeping up with events in our country over there. Just when Washington thinks it understands what is happening in the country which was previously an opposing superpower, some new event occurs there which totally changes the situation."

Nevertheless, PRAVDA is certain that "recognition of Russia and the other former republics (which meet United States standard demands) is an issue for the immediate future."

An interview with Ukrainian Defense Minister Colonel-General Konstantin Morozov, published in the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA paper, is devoted to the process of forming a republican army in Ukraine.

"The troops stationed in Ukraine remain in their former structures and are subordinate to the USSR Defense Ministry," stated K. Morozov, noting, however, that the recent decrees by Ukrainian President L. Kravchuk, who has taken up the duties of commander in chief of the republic's armed forces, "were the culmination of the preparatory stage of creating a juridical basis for the organization of Ukraine's own armed forces."

Under the header "The Union Parliament has been Dissolved", the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper publishes a report from the USSR Supreme Soviet, which says, among other things: "There weren't many journalists there. But they, and, incidentally, the deputies, too, were in no doubt that this was to be the last day of the Union parliament's work." "Who is to blame for the fact that the Soviet Union has ceased to exist?" The deputies tried to answer this question, naming among the culprits Gorbachev, the interregional group, and the Soyuz group. Some deputies in the end went on about an inexcusable protraction of decisions during the process of their work. Then K. Lubenchenko, chairman of a chamber of the USSR Supreme Soviet, came in and reported that a meeting had just taken place with R. Khasbulatov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. The USSR Supreme Soviet had ceased to exist on the basis of the agreement of the three republics".

"The inexcusable blockade of PRAVDA and the switching-off of telephones and electricity and the ban on visitors, which was organized not by some militants who had gone out of control but by Pressa, the state publishing house, is merely a kind of reconnnaissance-by-force in the war to tame the newspapers," an article in PRAVDA says. As an example of "taming" the newspapers and magazines, PRAVDA cites the impossibility of privatizing the mass media. "In the stormy seas of wild privatization the press remains an island where people are forbidden even to think about the right of ownership. In this respect both the old authorities and the new are touchingly unanimous," the newspaper stresses.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA publishes an interview with the Carlos Menem, Argentina's president, who believes, among other things, that President Mikhail Gorbachev "could in many ways still assist in the harmonization of relations between the former republics of the Soviet Union."

Press Review for 19 Dec

LD1912075691 Moscow TASS in English 0732 GMT 19 Dec 91

["Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow December 19 TASS—Thursday [19 December] newspapers PRAVDA and SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA carry articles on the Soviet parliament session stressing the Council of the Republics chamber welcomes the new commonwealth agreement and treats it as a guarantee for the country to overcome the acute economic and political crisis.

PRAVDA carries a statement by the Soviet parliament deputies who express their concern over the commonwealth treaty as it will be unable "to run the state due to loss of control because of hasty elimination of the soviet bodies of power". The deputies propose to "adopt a decision on resuming the Soviet Union jurisdiction over the new independent states before they develop laws of their own".

PRAVDA informs its readers of a meeting between Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and parliamentary

leaders and quotes Gorbachev as saying at the meeting "the Soviet Union does exist until constitutional decisions on its fate are taken".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA publishes a statement for the press by the Kazakhstan leader Nursultan Nazarbayev after his talks with the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker that the Soviet vacancy in the Security Council should be taken by the new Commonwealth of Independent States rather than by Russia alone.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA calls "provocation" allegations in the Soviet press that a new coup is possible in the country. According to the newspaper, "there is no party which is interested in seizing power by force in the Soviet Union now".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA alleges "stripping Gorbachev of power by democrats is nothing but a coup d'etat".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reports of armed clashes in the Moldavian town of Dubossary between "separatists" and the Moldavian police. A Russian parliamentarian of Dnestr region is describing the events as "another attempt by Moldavian rulers to finish it off with the Dnestr region and Gagauzia separatists".

RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA analyses bread shortages in Russia saying bread is playing a more important role now that other foodstuffs disappeared from the shops.

SOVIETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishes a telegramme by Far Eastern administration heads to Russian President Boris Yeltsin warning him of poacher fishing in the Okhotsk sea by Polish, Korean and Chinese fishermen.

Commonwealth Affairs

Five Republics Plus Uzbekistan Ready To Join

OW1812181091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An intention to join the Commonwealth of Independent States has so far been expressed by Armenia, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenia, and possibly Uzbekistan, Moldova is yet unable to do so due to its tense internal situation. This has been announced today, Wednesday [18 December], by Russia's Vice-Premier Gennadiy Burbulis at a press-conference in Moscow.

At present, he said, there are several variants suggested for the coordinating centre of the Commonwealth. One of the more realistic drafts has a council of the heads of states as supreme in the Commonwealth, also a council of the heads of governments and a defence council. Coordinating bodies are to provide for "a correct and dynamic transition from the former power structures" (such as the Inter-State Economic Committee, and so on).

According to G.Burbulis Tuesday's [17 December] meeting between the USSR and Russia's presidents—Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin—"was of a quite different character than the previous ones". Talk was about the mechanisms for developing effectively the clauses of the Minsk agreement.

G. Burbulis stressed "it will depend on Mikhail Gorbachev to what extent he is involved in further developments. We'd like to be highly ethical in this complex situation. We have great respect for Mikhail Gorbachev as president and as a politician".

Commentary on New Members

LD1812235891 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2100 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Commentary by Nikolay Svanidze; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] is marching across the country. Created first of all on the basis of three European states, the newly born Commonwealth, to all appearances, will soon cross the Urals' ridge and acquire its own Euro-Asian character. Rumors of the Pan-Slavism of the new confederation, which at first frightened Nursultan Nazarbayev—and not just him—have turned out to be exacerbated. Incidentally, so have also Moscow's rather gloomy forecasts about the formation of an Islamic association in Central Asia to counterbalance our Orthodox association. Nothing of the sort. The independent states of Central Asia have approved unanimously the Commonwealth and proposed themselves as its co-founders. Their proposal will be adopted and that will have a number of consequences. First of all, the association by the Islamic republics to the Commonwealth will not just render unconditional the victory of the ideas of the Brest agreement but will also calm the Moslem peoples in Russia itself. Undoubtedly, it will also strengthen Yeltsin's authority at the outset of a terrible economic reform. His renown in the West will also be enhanced since the spread of the union of states to the Asiatic part of the former USSR signifies a certain geostrategic and military stabilization in the huge region and strengthens the guarantees of nuclear control.

At the same time, the renewal of the customary and necessary ties signifies also the return of old problems. Moreover, if Kazakhstan can play, to a certain extent, the role of a spring in relations between Russia and the majority of the Central Asian republics, then the difference in the level of economic development lies as a heavy burden on Russian finances. The question of monetary infusions into the Asiatic economy threatens to greatly spoil relations inside the Commonwealth. However, these serious costs cannot hold Russia back from a Union with the mighty Islamic conglomerate.

Analyst Deems 'Economic Cataclysm' Possible

LD1812175491 Moscow TASS in English
1406 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By TASS analyst Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow December 18 TASS—The Economic Community Treaty was signed here by leaders of the sovereign states—former republics of the USSR—exactly two months ago, on October 18. Though it may seem paradoxical, the problem of establishing a single economic space on the territory of the former union still remains unsettled. Moreover, many experts believe the treaty, already signed by ten republics, may be invalidated by the new situation, created by the recently concluded commonwealth agreement. The republican parliaments may not ratify the treaty in its initial form. And without ratification, the treaty remains devoid of force.

The implementation of the treaty, signed by leaders of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, Moldova and Ukraine, is obstructed not only by political turmoil. The heads of the listed sovereign states are still unable to reach consensus on a score of agreements that are to supplement the treaty. Without these agreements, regulating economic relations among the former republics of the union, the treaty cannot be submitted for parliamentary ratification. So far, the heads of government of the republics, signatories of the document, have reached agreement on five of them, relating to taxation, prices and mutual deliveries of goods on a contractual basis and for common needs, and coordination of legislation, regulating economic activities.

The Commonwealth agreements add optimism to the prospects of a single economic space, even if on a part of the territory of the former Soviet Union. In principle, the Economic Community Treaty meets the goals and tasks proclaimed in Belarus. Moreover, Ukraine and Russia stated but a few weeks ago positions, differing from those of the other republics, vis a vis a single economic policy. Now that they are founders of the Commonwealth of Independent States, there is hope the former confrontation will be overcome. In any case, most of the purely political obstacles to a single economic space on the territory of the former union may be removed, if five or six other sovereign states join the "Slav trio" during the signing ceremony, scheduled for December 21.

It appears expedient, however, to adopt a special document on the coordination of economic efforts during the heads of state meeting of December 21. The document should be based on the Economic Community Treaty and on the signed supplementary agreements, which could be amended, if need be, to meet the new political realities of the Commonwealth. In this case, the Economic Community Treaty could be ratified already at the end of this year or, more probably, at the beginning of the next year. Of course, this calls for some hard efforts on the part of experts and agreement among heads of government on the revised documents.

If this does not happen before January 2, when Russia will launch its radical economic reforms, the other republics could plunge into economic chaos and the living standards of their peoples may take a nosedive to ground zero in a matter of days. The economic cataclysms are bound to aggravate again political relations among the sovereign republics, putting in question the very existence of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Citizens Polled on Commonwealth Agreement

92UF0355A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
12 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Sociological Poll on a Topical Subject"]

[Text] **On 10-11 December, the TINNI-Socio Center for Socioeconomic Studies conducted an express poll of the residents in the capitals of the republics which are signatories to the agreement on the creation of the Commonwealth. The number of respondents was 323. Respondents, who represented the adult city population, were asked the following questions:**

1) Do you or do you not approve of the agreement signed in Minsk by the leaders of the Slavic republics?

2) How will the signing of the agreement affect future development of the economic situation?

3) In your opinion, will M. Gorbachev retain his role as the first person in the Commonwealth?

Residents of all three capitals supported the actions of their leaders. A positive attitude toward the agreement was expressed by 84 percent of respondents in Moscow, 50 percent in Kiev, and 76 percent in Minsk. The hopes for an improvement in the economic situation related to new opportunities for coordinating actions on a new basis was expressed respectively by 38 (Moscow), 54 (Kiev), and 44 (Minsk) percent. It is also a rather widespread opinion that in the final count the situation will develop regardless of signing the agreement.

Answers to questions about the role of the Soviet leader in future events look far less optimistic, which, by the way, is related to the obvious lack of clarity in the current situation. Those who are certain that Gorbachev will continue to play the role of first person in the new commonwealth included 19 percent in Moscow (21 percent were not certain), and in Kiev and Minsk, respectively, 11 percent (20 percent not certain) and 17 percent (21 percent not certain). The prognosis of the remaining body of respondents is not optimistic. Nevertheless, one should not rely completely on the data above. As any poll conducted immediately in the wake of the events, this one reflects not

necessarily the most fundamental point of view. After a while, euphoria will subside, and views and appraisals will become more balanced.

Zhirinovskiy on 'Neo-Bolshevik Practice'

OW1812191591 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "If three men decide the fate of a huge country in a hunting lodge of the Belovezh Forest, this is a neo-bolshevik practice", the leader of the Liberal-Democratic Party Vladimir Zhirinovskiy said in Moscow, Wednesday [18 December] on the treaty setting up a Commonwealth of Independent States. His party also rejects the former USSR or a Union of Sovereign States, he went on. "We are for restoring Russia's statehood in the USSR borders of 1985 under the 1977 Constitution", he declared. If he succeeds in coming to power, the country will be called "Russian Federation of Provinces and Republics".

The Libral-Democratic leader is confident that the 3rd World War now in progress will end next April in his election as head of state. His party's congress coming that month will reconsider its name "since the word 'democratic' is completely discredited". V. Zhirinovskiy promises sweeping privileges for officers on whose support he counts in the elections. He expects opposition only from "a small group of refined intellectuals".

Military

Decree on New Military Oath Promulgated

PM1812145791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 17 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Decree of USSR President M. Gorbachev "On the Military Oath," dated The Kremlin, Moscow, 13 December 1991 and signed by USSR President M. Gorbachev]

[Text] In accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution of 30 August 1991 "On Immediate Steps To Avert Attempts To Carry Out a Coup d'Etat," I resolve:

1. To ratify the text of the military oath as follows:

"I (surname, name, patronymic) solemnly swear to be loyal to the people, I pledge to scrupulously observe the constitution and the laws of the state, the military regulations, and the orders given by commanders and chiefs, and to conscientiously perform my duties.

"I swear to be a devoted and worthy defender of my motherland."

2. The military oath is sworn by servicemen in the USSR Armed Forces, Border Guard, Internal, and Railroad Troops, and other troop formations for which USSR legislation makes provision in accordance with procedure determined by the Internal Service Regulations of the USSR Armed Forces.

[Signed] USSR President M. Gorbachev
The Kremlin, Moscow, 13 December 1991

Army Said Valued Solely on Basis of Property

PM1812131791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Dec 91 First Edition p1

[Article by Vladimir Urban under the "View From the Editorial Office" rubric: "The Republics and the Army: Privatization Is Stronger Than All of Us"]

[Text] At long last, some of the republics have recognized what the Army is worth.... Forgive me for the play on words, but the Army is now being valued solely on the basis of its property, the amount of its combat equipment and weapons, and the number of tonnes of fuel and ammunition it has.

Naturally, the various November "privatization" resolutions and decrees adopted in Georgia, Azerbaijan, Moldova, and Latvia on the property of the Armed Forces, border troops, and internal troops (Lithuania also recently declared its right to Army property) have different motives. I shall endeavor to explain them. But the main motive is, nevertheless, to create a material and technical base for their own troops.

The NATO Council session held in Rome on 7-8 November expressed concern in connection with the problem of central control over Soviet nuclear weapons. Some republics' expressed intention to form large armies equipped with modern weapons is also causing apprehension among our former enemies.

But it was actually after the NATO Council session that the main "privatization processes" began. Incidentally, one opinion doing the rounds in the republics—if not greatly advertised—is that the world community will recognize the sovereignty of former Union republics if they have "their own armies." But Western reaction does not count for very much if many of the republics are rent by internal conflict and their leaders want to improve their rating by establishing their authority over the Army.

For example, Zviad Gamsakhurdia's decisions are almost certainly prompted by events in South Ossetia, where, in the opinion of the Georgian leadership, the time for "final decisions" has come. And I feel it is certainly no coincidence that Moldovan President Mircea Snegur signed his decrees almost at the same time as the beginning of bloody clashes between the police and the population in Gagauzia. The Dnestr Republic reacted immediately: It too placed Union troops under its own jurisdiction. Similar associations arise when you look at the situation in Azerbaijan. Attempts to draw up an inventory of Army property began after the USSR defense minister's visit to Baku,

when he confirmed his previous decision that the Soviet Army should not interfere in interethnic conflicts.

Republic leaders have confirmed their readiness to conduct all affairs with the military on the basis of treaties, rather than resorting to blackmail and threats. In practice, however, the reverse is true. Does this mean that they are not fully in control of the situation? Or are they simply ignoring the decisions of the State Council, of which they themselves are members?

The State Council deserves a separate mention. It met four times in November, although not all the members were present. The question of preserving a unified Armed Forces was raised twice—and it was supported on both occasions. Here are some lines from the State Council resolution of 14 November: The status of the USSR Armed Forces established by existing Union legislation is to be preserved on the territory of the sovereign republics (states). It appears from the draft treaty on the Union of Sovereign States that the participants in the shaky Novo-Ogarevo process have also arrived at a solution to defense problems. The republics will have the right to create their own armed formations, but their size and functions will be the subject of a special interstate agreement, and the Union of Sovereign States will have a unified Armed Forces.

So, there is a preliminary agreement on paper. What is surprising is that the Novo-Ogarevo seven (or eight, depending on the number of participants) modestly avoid reference to the fact that their own colleagues have begun to divide up Army property. If it is simply a question of following our good old tradition and not speaking ill of those absent, soldiers and officers stationed in "hot spots" still find this incomprehensible. The joint statement issued by the USSR Defense Ministry and USSR Internal Affairs Ministry press centers soon after the State Council session merely confirmed the fact that the military are prepared to use every means available to defend themselves, their families, and their combat equipment and weapons.

Conflicts surrounding property could be resolved by the rapid conclusion of an interstate agreement on collective security (defense). Attempts to begin the negotiating process to draw up such an agreement were made by Union legislators on 28-29 November at an interrepublic meeting on defense issues. The talks will, I hope, be continued. But that is in the future. You sometimes do not even know how the present day will end.

Let us go further—to Kiev. After Sunday's Ukrainian referendum on independence, we are going to have to reckon with the appearance of a new state. Even before that, commenting once again on the State Council's decisions regarding the preservation of a unified Armed Forces, the republic's defense minister, Colonel General K. Morozov, told the newspaper NARODNAYA ARMIYA: "We have no reason to remove the question of national armed forces from the agenda." Naturally, the minister did not fail to remind people that the sovereign republics' right to national armies and guards units was mutually confirmed during recent talks between Ukrainian and Russian delegations.

Several questions immediately arise. For example: Is this an attempt to draw Russia—and its president, B. Yeltsin—into forming its own armed forces? So far, Russia has acted the gentleman and observed the "embargo" on dividing the Army. Evidently not by chance, a Russian Government resolution of 13 November ruled that the "Russian State Committee for Defense Questions is to be temporarily incorporated into the Russian Government structure, pending the formation of a Russian defense ministry." This was done on the eve of the State Council session, so that the leaders of other republics should not be left in any doubt.

But the Ukraine has not taken part in recent sessions. So we will have to be content with a statement by its Supreme Soviet Presidium: that the republic intends to form its own armed forces by reforming the Army groups stationed on its soil, but "only on a legal basis." The Ukraine wants to become a nuclear-free, neutral power in the future.

It would be easy for Russia to create its own defense structures. It essentially maintains the Armed Forces, and the strategic forces directorate is on its territory. But everyone knows that dividing the Soviet Army would instantly lead to the disintegration of the Union. Furthermore, there is no point in hiding the fact that we would be faced with an unpredictable situation, where military force would start to be divided by military force. A situation more severe in its brutality and scale than the one in Yugoslavia. We are only half a step away from this....

Please understand me correctly. It is hard to object to sovereign states and tell them that they do not have the right to form their own national armies. But, on becoming sovereign states, our former Union republics have acquired responsibilities as well as rights. Any plundering of the Soviet Army would be tantamount to action against another sovereign state, whatever it may be called—the Union of Sovereign States or Russia—if the Union disintegrates completely.

People must remember that sovereignty means responsibilities as well as rights.

Baltic Affairs

IZVESTIYA Views Border Guard Plans

PM1612143991 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Dec 91 Union Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent I. Litvinova and commentary by military correspondent N. Burbyga under general heading: "Baltic States Prepare To Guard Their Borders"]

[Text] Riga—Latvia is preparing to guard its borders—both western and eastern. The border guard will occupy a leading place in the defense concept of independent Latvia. Much will be drawn from the traditions of the state which existed before 1940 and much will have to be renewed.

In former times the numerical strength of the Latvian Army was as much as 200,000 men (including 2,000 officers). Incomplete provision with weapons and the shortage of strategic defense installations were compensated for by the high degree of professional training.

It is with training that they have begun now, too. For instance, in Ventsipils, they are training ground border troops; in Liyepaya, naval border troops. Officers trained in the Soviet Army and Soviet weapons will probably be used in the Latvian armed forces. It is true that the council of officers assemblies of the Baltic Military District opposed the transfer or sale of weapons to Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia until Soviet troops have been withdrawn from these territories: The military fear provocations using Soviet weapons and ammunition.

So far it is unclear how Talavs Yundzis, who has just been appointed defense minister, proposes to resolve the problem. He is the author of the resolution adopted by parliament on the transfer to the ownership of the Latvian Republic of the property of the USSR Defense Ministry and border troops. That would undoubtedly ensure the transition of the border guard to the Latvian servicemen. After all, equipment and special gear cost hundreds of millions of rubles, which Latvia does not have. The defense minister said that military expenditure will be 3-5 percent of the budget. Experts believe that the figure is understated and could increase considerably. So far the Latvian border is guarded (free of charge) by Soviet border guards. They have naturally voiced a negative attitude toward the possible expropriation of equipment belonging to the border troops, which could be used in equipping another border: the Russian-Latvian border. Russian taxpayers could thus be saved up to one billion rubles. [Litvinova report ends]

IZVESTIYA military correspondent commentary. I shall note immediately that Latvia is not alone in preparing to guard its Eastern borders. It looks as though this problem perturbs all the Baltic states, which have embarked on training their own border guards. As a rule the training is being done by Soviet border guards, using their technical base. It must be said that not everything is going smoothly here. Thus, in Klaypeda recently, officers of the Soviet border checkpoint refused to train Lithuanian border guards. The reason was that the Lithuanian side had not resolved the question of payment. The Soviet border guards' mood can be understood: Infringing on the interests of the servicemen and members of their families seems to have entered the system. In addition there is concern over the possible nationalization of the border troops' property. All this, in the opinion of many officers, is fraught with the danger of a social eruption. And there is also the enforced training of men who, although they are colleagues, are nonetheless colleagues of a foreign state.

The forthcoming relocation of the troops also promises nothing good. Here in the Baltic states there are many housing problems. But at their new location there is no housing at all, the officers complain. Moscow is keeping quiet. Officers here are taking the initiative into their own hands. At their own risk, they have carried out a reconnaissance of the area, where, in their opinion, they will soon have to serve. That place is the prewar border.

Recently Mikhail Gorbachev signed the decree on the approval of the interim provision on the committee to guard the state border. It is an independent interrepublican service of management that has no analogue in the history of the troops and that is designed, through the united command of the border troops, to pursue policy on the state border. As the president sees it, the committee is designed to play the part of a coordinator, while the direct guarding of the border will be by the border troops of the republics, districts, and salients [napravleniya]. Its main task is to safeguard the security of the Union and the sovereign republics on the state border.

But will this decree work and what will it give those serving in the Baltic states? Absolutely nothing, they believe. Without the solution of political issues with the Baltic states, the interim provision on the committee to guard the state border of the USSR will just hang in the air. Pinning no hope on it, the officers gathering of the Baltic border district troops directorate decided to appeal to RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin and to tell him that the border structures of the three Baltic republics are unable to ensure the reliable guarding of the border. As a result considerable political and economic damage will be inflicted on Russia. The officers suggest beginning talks immediately with the Baltic states on the demarcation of the border and embarking on the provision of engineering and technical equipment and facilities for it.

In brief, the border guards are prepared to continue to serve Russia but in a new capacity. And on its territory... Will they be heeded?

Estonia

Republic Joins Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty

OW1812203991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1715 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonia has joined the treaty on nuclear arms non-proliferation. A resolution on the issue was adopted by the Estonian parliament December 18th.

The Estonian government has been charged with preparing a statement about the move. After it is signed by chairman of the parliament Arnold Ruutel, it will be sent to the governments of the countries-signatories where the texts of the treaty are deposited—the U.S., Great Britain and the USSR (or its successor).

Treaty With Russia Ready for Ratification

OW1812191391 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1715 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Aleksandr Granberg, Chairman of the parliamentary committee on inter-republican relations and state adviser to the Russian president, told a news conference in Moscow December 18th that the treaty on bilateral relations between Russia and Estonia signed in January, 1991, is ready for ratification.

Mr. Granberg said the long-time contacts between the parliaments of the two republics had resulted in the fact that "an overwhelming majority of ethnic Russians living in Estonia want the treaty to be rectified as soon as possible".

He also noted that a group of Estonian plenipotentiary representatives had arrived in Moscow December 18th to sign an agreement on economic cooperation between Russia and Estonia for 1992. He said in case the treaty is ratified by the Russian parliament, later it would be amended. More than 20 agreements on various questions, such as citizenship, borders, withdrawal of Soviet troops from Estonia, etc., will be signed by the two states in future.

Mr. Granberg said that, at his request, the treaty's presentation to the parliament for ratification had been postponed from December 19th to December 26th "since by that time the Foreign Ministry, parliamentary committees and commissions are expected to make their conclusions on the treaty."

Minister Signs Act Dissolving KGB

OW1912011591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2100 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An act on final dissolution of the KGB of Estonia was signed in Tallinn on December 18. The document was signed by Estonia's Minister of State Raivo Vare, representative of the Interrepublican Security Service Major-General Vyacheslav Sironin, and former chairman of Estonia's KGB Rein Sillar. This information was communicated to Baltfax in the press-service of Estonian government.

Beginning from next year, the entire staff of the republic's KGB will be unemployed.

Lithuania

Extradition of Vilnius 'Coup' Plotters Urged

LD1812140991 Moscow TASS in English 0628 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius December 17 (TASS)— As the investigation of the coup attempt in Vilnius in January 1991 comes to a close, "the offenders are still hiding outside Lithuania," Arturas Paulauskas, republican general prosecutor, said on Tuesday [17 December].

Paulauskas said there is enough evidence to accuse 23 people of an attempt to stage the coup in Vilnius on January 13, 1991.

Lithuanian parliamentary leader Vytautas Landsbergis sent a letter to Russian Republic President Boris Yeltsin urging him to facilitate the extradition of 23 people accused by the Lithuanian prosecutor of carrying out the coup.

Among the people named in the letter are former Lithuanian Communist Party leaders Mikolas Burokyavichus, Yuozas Yermalavichyus, Algimantas Naudzhyunas, former Soviet Communist Party Central Committee secretary, Oleg Shenin, former Soviet defence minister, Dmitry Yazov, former KGB chief, Vladimir Kryuchkov, former chief of the Vilnius Military Garrison General, Vladimir Uskhopchik, garrison commandant colonel, Grigory Belous, former commander of the Vilnius anti-riot OMON [special purpose militia detachment] troops, Boleslav Makutynovich and others.

Former Minister: KGB Agents in Parliament

OW1812191891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1715 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuanian Ex-Premier Kazimiera Prunskiene argues that a lot of KGB agents have infiltrated in the republican parliament. Her article "The contours of black scenario" published in the magazine "Politika" No. 35 says before the latest parliamentary elections in 1990 the main goal of the Lithuanian KGB had been to implant its agents in the new Supreme Council. With this purpose during the election campaign "the KGB held consultations with 12-15 candidates" most of whom later won and "united closely in parliament".

Kazimiera Prunskiene also contends part of the former "Sajudis" members have also worked for the KGB.

Supreme Soviet

Further on Union Legislature Property Transfer

Khasbulatov, Union Discuss 'Winding Up'

PM1812132191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 91 p 1

[I. Sichka report under the "Repercussions of the Belovezhskaya Agreement" rubric: "'Pall-Bearers' Appointed, Time of Funeral Specified"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday [17 December] R. Khasbulatov invited K. Lubenchenko and A. Alimzhanov, chairmen of the chambers of the Union legislature, to discuss the delicate question of the conditions and mechanism for winding up the USSR Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile it became known that Khasbulatov has already signed a resolution of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium transferring all Union legislature property, including the Kremlin, to Russia. It cannot be ruled out that the legislature will have nowhere to assemble next week. Moreover, the entire system of government communications has already been taken out of Gorbachev's jurisdiction and placed at Yeltsin's disposal. Gorbachev himself, however, is currently engaged in preparing documents for the Alma-Ata meeting. Meeting with Yeltsin yesterday, he agreed, according to TASS, that the process of the conversion of Union structures should be over by the end of the year. That is to say, some will switch to Russian jurisdiction, the rest will be scrapped.

Reports on Transfer 'Premature'

LD1812140491 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Reports of the transfer of the property of the Union parliament to the jurisdiction of Russia are premature, journalists have been told by Sergey Filatov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. No such resolution has been adopted by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Russia or its legislature.

Evidently, it is a question of the Supreme Soviet Presidium's resolution, closed to the press, on certain questions connected with the recall of deputies' groups of the RSFSR from the USSR Supreme Soviet. The resolution of the Presidium does not concern the sequestration of the property of the USSR Supreme Soviet or its disbandment. The document contains instructions to the relevant state bodies of Russia to ensure the functioning and safekeeping of the buildings, structures, enterprises, and organizations that previously belonged to the USSR Supreme Soviet, until the adoption of a decision on their further use.

On the basis of the adopted resolution, Sergey Filatov said, a Russian guard has been posted at the USSR Supreme Soviet building on the territory of the Moscow Kremlin. Perhaps that was why access yesterday, even to Red Square, was permitted only after a personal inspection.

'Nothing Remains' of Union Legislature

LD1812153291 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 18 TASS—In view of the denunciation of the 1922 treaty on the formation of the USSR by Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, the state bodies of Russia have been instructed to ensure the functioning and preservation of buildings, facilities, enterprises and organisations that earlier belonged to the USSR Supreme Soviet pending decisions on their further utilisation, Sergey Filatov, deputy chief of the Russian parliament, told journalists.

Russian guards are now posted in the Soviet parliament building on the territory of the Moscow Kremlin, Filatov said.

Versions of decisions on the future position of USSR people's deputies were discussed on December 17 during a meeting between the leaders of the central parliament chambers and Russian parliament chief Ruslan Khasbulatov.

The first version presupposes keeping the entire corps of the Union parliament deputies. Another version envisages leaving empowered only that proportion of central parliament deputies who had been elected from territories, not from public organisations, some of which no longer exist, such as, for example, trade unions, the Communist Party and the Young Communist League.

According to a third version, it is contemplated either to work out a plan for the recall of the USSR people's deputies or to hope that they would pass a declaration on voluntarily resigning deputies' powers.

The deputy chief of the Russian parliament said that, since five Asian republics have already expressed their intention to join the Commonwealth of Independent States, "nothing remains of the central parliament. It is inadmissible for a legally false situation to keep on on Russia's territory in the form of two levels of authorities during the current transition to a market economy."

Filatov said Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Russian parliament's Council of the Republic, together with Kostantin Lubenchenko, chairman of the central parliament's Council of the Union, are to prepare proposals on further utilisation of the property of the central parliament and on ensuring the status of USSR people's deputies on the territory of Russia, Filatov said.

Resolution Excerpt Released

LD1812202691 Moscow TASS in English 1946 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 18 TASS—The transfer of the property of the Soviet parliament to the Russian parliament includes the transfer of buildings and premises, including dwellings, health, medical and other institutions with their movable property and real estate, financial resources in rubles and foreign currency deposited in banks, insurance joint-stock companies, joint ventures and other institutions. This is stated in a resolution of the presidium of the Russian parliament with the "not for the press" stamp. An excerpt of the resolution was given to journalists at the press centre of the Russian parliament today in the afternoon.

Union Guard Replacement Denied

LD1912193891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0530 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Nikolay Ryabov, chairman of the Soviet of the Republic of the Russian legislature, has denied a rumor that the Union Guard in the Kremlin has been replaced by a Russian one. This has not happened and cannot be the case because the Union Supreme Soviet and two presidents are in the Kremlin, he stated in an interview for INTERFAX.

Ryabov explained that steps are now being taken to implement the decision of the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet. It also concerns the guarding of property situated on the territory of the Kremlin and belonging to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Bill on Security, State of Emergency Discussed

OW1812163391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1430 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [17 December] the Russian parliament's Council of the Republic adopted on the first reading a bill on security in Russia. According to IF's [INTERFAX] parliamentary correspondent, the draft determines the notion of security as a condition when the vital interests of the individual, society and state are protected against the existing and potential threats.

The draft also stipulates that the President of the Russian Federation is the supreme commander-in-chief of the republic's armed forces and has the right to impose and lift states of emergency and martial laws.

The draft provides for the establishment of a republican Security Council to protect Russia's sovereignty, territorial integrity and constitutional order, prognosticate developments, draft presidential decrees on state of emergency or martial law, deal with the effects of emergency situations, etc.

Yuriy Skokov, Russia's State Counsellor in charge of security issues, asked members of the Council of the republic on behalf of B. Yeltsin to authorize the Security Council formation even before the law on security is finally adopted.

Draft 'Full of Philosophical Notions'

LD1812202291 Moscow TASS in English 1917 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow December 18 TASS—The draft law "On Security of the Russian Federation" was approved today after first reading at a separate meeting of the two chambers of the Russian Parliament. It was pointed out at the hearings that the draft law is "obviously raw and too full of philosophical notions." The legislators tried to understand what the authors of the document meant by the "protection of ... spiritual sources of the life of society," which, in their opinion, is the objective of ensuring the republic's security. The draft law specified that the point at issue is not the state or national security, but "the protection of the vital interests of the individual, society and the state from the existing and potential threat."

Nevertheless, the Russian president is ready to form the Russian Security Council immediately after today's approval of the draft law after first reading, said Yuriy Skokov, Russian state adviser for security affairs.

Legislature Attempts To Settle 'Moscow Crisis'

LD1812174891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Report by legislative correspondent Vera Shchelkunova at RSFSR Supreme Soviet session]

[Text] The law on the security of the RSFSR: This document was adopted today on a constitutional level in the first reading by the Soviet of the Republic, one of the chambers of the Russian legislature. This means the creation of an integral system to ensure the safety of the individual, society, and the state. Laws on defense, state security, on the struggle against corruption, on health and environmental protection, and so forth are to be drawn up within this system and be interlinked with it.

The organization of a security council is envisaged, a coordinating body formed of the republic's highest officials. Its obligation will also be the forecasting of a threat, possible measures to avert it, and the calculation of the consequences of such measures.

Today, the Supreme Soviet also undertook an attempt to settle the Moscow crisis, the crisis of power and the execution of power. As was known beforehand, the law on the status of Moscow as the capital of the RSFSR was adopted in the first reading.

Gonchar [chairman of Moscow City Soviet], who attended the session today, and Plotnikov, the representative of the mayor—the mayor could not come owing to his health—nevertheless did put forward different positions. Plotnikov asked the Russian legislators, in working on the law, to thoroughly think out the main principle for ensuring Muscovites a normal life-style.

Gonchar said that it was better to have a bad law than no law, but since at the moment there is precisely none at all, a resolution has been adopted on interpretation of Article 183 of the RSFSR Constitution as applied to the activity of bodies of power and administration of a complex megapolis like Moscow. However, in adopting that decision the deputies did not dispose of the question of whether that would help the capital.

Law on Increasing Minimum Wage Adopted

LD1812201591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] The RSFSR Supreme Soviet adopted a law to increase the minimum wage. Thus, in organizations and institutions which are financed from budget sources, the minimum wage will as of 1 January be raised to 342 rubles per month, taking into account the compensation which was introduced from April of this year. The minimum wage does not include supplementary payments, bonuses, or incentives. The minimum old-age pension is to be increased from 1 January.

CPSU Finance Hearings Postponed One Month

LD1812223791 Moscow TASS in English 2147 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Kubanov]

[Text] Moscow December 18 TASS—The Russian parliament today postponed for a month hearings about the Soviet Communist Party's financial activities, TASS learned from a source in the Russian parliament's press centre.

Hearings, originally scheduled for today, have been prepared by a commission set up in the wake of the August putsch.

Commission secretary Aleksandr Maksimov told TASS the adjournment of the second round of hearings (the first round was held in early October) was caused by the parliament's "overcrowded schedule" ahead of the new year recession.

According to Maximov, commission experts have studied numerous archival materials over the past two months, selected and invited people prepared to testify before parliament. One of these people, who failed to speak at the hearings today, was Valentin Kuptsov, former first secretary of the Russian Communist Party Central Committee.

Maksimov said the Soviet Communist Party's financial activity will be examined when hearings resume. He said experts had unearthed "different things about which we guessed" earlier. These relate to the party's activity "along the church line" and "the overall surveillance over citizens and even parliament members" carried out by security agencies on instructions from party headquarters even after the Soviet parliament scrapped Article Six of the Soviet Constitution, which legitimately confirmed the Communist Party's leading and governing role in society.

Maksimov also said his commission was dealing with "many current issues" in addition to archival research. One of its duties is to examine complaints about resistance to reforms in the provinces.

'Very Busy Schedule' Cited

LD1912100191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1530 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Kubanov]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 18 Dec (TASS)— The hearings in the Russian legislature on the financial activities of the CPSU, due to start today, have been postponed for about a month. A TASS correspondent was told this at the press center of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. It was expected that the hearings would be conducted by the legislative deputies commission which was set up after the well-known August events to investigate the reasons and conditions of the coup d'etat in the USSR. In an interview with the TASS correspondent, Aleksandr Maksimov, secretary of the commission, explained the postponement of the second round of hearings (the first one was held at the beginning of October) by "the very busy schedule" of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, which is trying to clear up the legislative backlog, including the adoption of a number of important draft laws, by the end of the year. [passage omitted]

'Innovation Council' Results Discussed

LD1912112691

[Editorial Report] Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian at 1100 GMT on 16 December carries a five-minute report by correspondent Olga Vasilenko from the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Vasilenko notes that on Mondays the Supreme Soviet usually works in committees and commissions. Instead members of the committees and commissions of the Soviet of the Republic were invited to a session devoted to the results of the activity of the innovation council and the development of innovation activity in Russia. The innovation council was set up just over a year ago to accelerate the realization of scientific and technical developments, to stop the brain drain and the loss of inventions abroad. The council is also an analytical and expert body. The council has already drawn up more than 17 programs envisaging the creation of new technologies, equipment, materials, medicines, ecologically pure products, fundamentally new means of transportation, and so forth.

The following figures are cited in connection with the state innovation program, called "the Republican System of Transportation and Dispatching Services:" "Every year transportation takes 22 billion rubles from the production sphere if the cargo is transported for

more than six days. This program was applied in Nizhnenovgorod, and transportation costs were reduced by six to 10 times. The time railcars were standing idle was cut threefold, that of motor vehicles fourfold, and what is most important the loss of cargoes was diminished tenfold. And yet another example: In the town of Shuya in Ivanovo Oblast they equipped themselves with the Avtocam state program, an innovation program, and in just over six months a factory for the production of plastic cars has been commissioned on licence from a British firm."

Vasilenko goes on to report that the innovation council is also drawing up programs in the humanities sphere, for example, the "lycee program" which envisages the setting up of a system of lycees to train cadres in innovation activities. Other such programs are "the development of applied folk art of the peoples of Russia" and "restoration of monuments and the church economy". "According to Deputy Lebedev, chairman of the innovation council, our plans contain major programs relating to the mines of the Kuzbass, the activation of oil extraction in Tyumen, on the actual provision of services and amenities to the areas adjacent to the Baykal-Amur mainline railway. The chairman of the innovation council is convinced that this system, the innovation system, may become the reserve system of the president of Russia and it is capable of resolving on contractual bases major regional and industrial sector economic problems which require active concentration of funds and resources".

The session continues and according to Vasilenko the aim of the meeting today is to attract attention to the innovation council, to attract money to its activities because an innovation fund has also been set up and to make the programs more widely accessible to the republic.

"As far as the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet is concerned, which starts at 1500 as it always does on Monday, a number of draft laws are being submitted for discussion by it, which will then be discussed by the session of the Supreme Soviet. These include the draft law on mineral resources, on securities, on RSFSR security, and others."

People's Deputy Ponders Minsk Agreement

PM1812145191 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 17 Dec 91 pp 1-2

[RSFSR People's Deputy Vladimir Isakov "Legislative Diary": "Who Are We Now?"]

[Text] Those who watched the transmission of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet session 12 December possibly noticed the figure hovering around the microphone throughout the session but who was not given a chance to speak. That was me. What did I want to say in the speech that I did not deliver? What thoughts and feelings did I want to share?

There are two attitudes toward the Belovezhskaya Forest Agreement. I understand those of my fellow countrymen who gave a sigh of joy and relief when they learned of the political agreement between Russia, the Ukraine, and Belorussia [as published]: At last! they said. You can travel to Kiev and Minsk, as before, without a foreign passport and without the fear of finding yourself in a foreign state. A glimmer of hope seemed to have flickered in the unrelieved gloom of recent months.

But I also understand those people who ask anxiously: Where do we live now? What are we called? Why, when removing the ramshackle state structures from the scene, was it also necessary to destroy the state—the USSR—itself? Was this right?

We are offered the following answer: The Union became bogged down in a mire of bureaucracy and intrigues. The Union leadership knows no other language than that of diktat. No Union Treaty is possible with such a center.

As an authorized representative of Russia at the talks on the Union Treaty, I would assure you that this is far from the whole truth. Yes, in the initial stages of the talks you could sense the pressure of the central leadership and its desire to take the talks under its control. The republics resisted that—and the representatives of the center retired a fitting distance and gave them freedom. It is even more ridiculous to talk about pressure from the center now that it has effectively been destroyed.

So what is going on here? Why did the numerous attempts to conclude a Union Treaty at that time not lead to success? The reasons for that are far deeper and more serious.

First of all, there are the powerful centrifugal tendencies in the republics supported (and you cannot close your eyes to this) by a considerable section of the people. Recent referendums graphically show this yet again.

Second, you cannot fail to see this understandable and justified movement of the peoples toward freedom and independence. Hence the separatism harnessed by leaders and political groups who do not know and do not want to know about any restrictions on their power. Hence the separatism and confrontation in domestic and foreign policy and the disregard for the rule of law.

Third, having destroyed the old center, Russia openly and unambiguously declared its right to legal succession and effectively took the center's place. This was bound to influence the republics, which are so sensitive to everything affecting their sovereignty.

The fourth reason is that Russia and its leadership have consistently destroyed everything the old center touched. For example, the Treaty on Economic Cooperation.

There is an interesting question which is being keenly discussed in the press and in the corridors of parliament: Why was Kazakhstan not among the founder republics? G.E. Burbulis, first deputy chairman of the Russian

cabinet himself, gave a certain direction to the reflections on this theme. At a meeting with Union deputies he divided the participants in the treaty process into three categories: Those republics which want radical reforms, "up to and including the replacement of the social system," those republics which have "donned camouflage uniforms," and the center, which tried to reconcile the former and the latter, became redundant, and was eliminated. So, has Nazarbayev been punished for not wanting to play the favorite game of the Marxists and former Marxists under the name of "replacing the social system"?

The Belovezhskaya Forest agreement put the republics in the position of someone who has been given an ultimatum: "Here is the new house—the commonwealth—in which we will all live free and equitable lives. Do you like it? Then let us burn down the old house—the USSR! Just to make sure, so that even if anyone really wants to return to it, they cannot."

How typically Russian that is! And how familiar! All our policy over the past 18 months has been built according to that pattern: First they destroyed the legal system (law wars), then the bank and budget system, then the economic system (luring enterprises over to Russian jurisdiction), and the management system (eliminating the USSR Council of Ministers, ministries and departments). Finally the process reached the foundation of the state—the Treaty on the Formation of the USSR. They summoned up their strength—and destroyed that, too. Since 12 December we have been living in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]—something akin to the British Commonwealth of Nations, only completely new. I wonder what we are to call ourselves now?

It is hard for someone burdened with the difficult cares of everyday life to understand and imagine what it means to remove the USSR from the world political map. Who will fill this vacuum? Will the new CIS soon achieve a level of international recognition in any way close to that which the USSR had? Will it not be that by our rash decision we shall consign ourselves to the position of a colony and mere raw materials producer for a long time to come, if not forever?

As was said at the conference involving members of the government, this year we sold licenses for the export of 80 percent of the oil produced in the country and sold licenses for more diesel fuel than was actually produced. And all this is happening in conditions of the most acute fuel shortage! Now, quite possibly, political discord is to be added to such management. Where are we going, where are we leading the country?

Another illusion that we must rid ourselves of is the idea that sooner or later economic interests will bind the republics with bonds of steel. Let us not deceive ourselves: No one is going to deliver themselves into a new form of slavery. Today Russia does not look like a worthy partner. The Russian leadership's economic and political adventurism brought it to an abyss of crisis. In this situation the normal reaction is to swim away so as not to be dragged down when the ship sinks. Therefore the best thing that could be done to recreate the union of republics on a new basis is to come to our senses and stabilize the internal situation as soon as possible. Then people will reach out to Russia. Not immediately, but eventually they will.

A noteworthy event in political life was the speech by Ye.T. Gaydar, vice premier of the Russian cabinet, who gave information on the work of the government. The forthcoming price hike attracted most attention from deputies and the greatest number of questions, of course. Ye.T. Gaydar gave another assurance that the Russian government intends to retain control over prices for approximately 10 percent of commodities and production and technical goods. At the same time, state subsidies are to be retained on bread, milk, curd cheese, kefir, sunflower oil, salt, and matches. The price for the main energy source—oil and petroleum products—is going up fivefold to 350 rubles [R] a tonne (excluding value added tax). Prices for other energy sources will rise by approximately the same proportion excluding coke, which to a large extent is obtained for hard currency and is therefore rising in price substantially.

The compulsory sale of hard currency will continue but will be linked to the market rate. In the fuel and raw materials group the compulsory sale of hard currency to the state will stand at 50 percent. It is planned that all machine building output and a considerable proportion of processing industry output will be exempted from hard currency deductions. Nevertheless, there is a catastrophic shortage of hard currency in the country. In the vice premier's words, the RSFSR president asked the G-7 leaders to create a stabilization fund which would support the convertibility of the ruble. Is this not a mistake? It is hard to understand what would make Bush and Major give themselves a headache worrying about ruble convertibility.

Ye.T. Gaydar also touched on the sensitive theme of the Russian budget. In his words, the RSFSR Ministry of the Economy and Finances (headed, incidentally, by Ye.T. Gaydar himself) prepared a budget according to the traditional pattern and did not take into account the fundamental changes connected with the reform of prices and attachment [priobshcheniye] to a considerable proportion of the Union economy. A new version of the budget, or rather a draft, is being prepared which reflects the basic guidelines of budget policy. The clarification of the actual expenditure figures, however, will be dependent on the rise in prices.

But giving information is not the same as giving a report, and thus there was no debate. And that is a shame, because aspects are accumulating in the government's work which require analysis. Formed over a month ago, it is now undergoing a quiet and not widely publicized reorganization. There have been many name changes. These are only minor problems, although replacing

nameplates, seals, headed notepaper, bank and other documentation is no trivial matter. Others have had to go through a bizarre procedure—abolition and immediate reform. For example, the RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media was abolished and an RSFSR Ministry of the Press and Mass Media was created on its basis with the same functions. Probably to confuse the enemies of democracy and glasnost once and for all.

A list has been added to the decree from which it emerges that "monsters" of Union importance are being merged with the Russian ministries. For instance, the 180-man Russian Industry Ministry is being augmented by the former Ministry of Automotive Machine Building, the Ministry of the Aviation Industry, the Ministry of the Defense Industry, the Ministry of Metallurgy and another 10 ministries and state committees, each of which is several times larger than its Russian "pop." An outstanding catch. Thus you have a picture of a Russian minister speaking proudly with enemy scalps hanging from his belt. The only thing is whether such an immense conglomerate is manageable. The first indications are that it is not very manageable: Production workers, hurrying from one Moscow office to another and failing to find a leader there to answer their question for them, curse and swear and invoke a new State Committee for the State of Emergency against us.

In this difficult situation, the RSFSR president's decrees on priority measures in organizing the work of industry and stabilizing the work of the RSFSR industrial complex seem timely. To be blunt, they revive certain elements of the command and administration system: Concerns and corporations are being declared state bodies and are being charged with responsibility for completing the 1991 production program and with preparations for next year's work. Accordingly they have been given the right to conclude contracts with leaders of enterprises and to place state orders. RSFSR Industry Minister A.A. Titkin, addressing deputies and captains of industry recently, said that the premature abolition of the state order was, in his opinion, a mistake. There is no time to restore the state order fully by the beginning of the year, but it will happen in the first quarter of the year. Many experts believe that the unfavorable development of the situation will force the Russian leadership to go considerably further—as far as imposing a state of emergency in the economy with the funding of resources, a rigid mandatory state order, and price control.

In addition, last week saw the continuation (and in practice the conclusion) of the examination of a package of legislative acts on taxation. The chambers adopted at the first reading the RSFSR Law "On Moscow—Capital of the RSFSR." Another law—"On the Protection of the Natural Environment"—seems to have had an inauspicious start in life. Because of technical defects it has already been taken off the agenda twice. At the very end of the week a law was adopted which sharply increases the administrative liability for damaging general-purpose transport facilities and their interior equipment. Now such actions are punishable by a fine of up to R1,000 in addition to making good the damage caused.

Last Week the Following Were Adopted:

The RSFSR Law "On Taxation of the Property of Physical Persons."

The RSFSR Law "On State Customs Duty."

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Resolution "On the Ratification of the Agreement on the Creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States."

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Resolution "On the Denunciation of the Treaty on the Formation of the USSR."

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Resolution "On the Recall of RSFSR Deputies' Groups from the USSR Supreme Soviet."

The RSFSR Law "On the Tourist Tax."

The RSFSR Law "On the Tax on Property Acquired by Inheritance or by Gift."

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Resolution "On the Postponement of the Introduction of Value Added Tax from 16 December 1991 to 1 January 1992."

The RSFSR Law "On the Tax on Share Dealings."

The RSFSR Law "On the Taxation of Bank Income."

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Resolution "On the Situation in South Ossetia."

The RSFSR Law "On the Taxation of Incomes from Insurance Activity."

The RSFSR Law "On the Tax on Enterprises' Property."

The RSFSR Law "On an Addendum to Article 18 of the RSFSR Law 'On Banks and Banking Activity in the RSFSR'."

The RSFSR Resolution "On the Election of Judges to the St. Petersburg City Court, the Krasnodar Kray Court, and a Number of Oblast Courts."

The RSFSR Law "On Amendments to the RSFSR Code on Administrative Violations of the law."

International Affairs

Yeltsin on 2-Day Official Visit to Italy

To Sign Cooperation Agreements

LD1812175891 Moscow TASS in English 1638 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By TASS observer Aleksandr Minayev]

[Text] Moscow December 18 TASS—Rome and Alma-Ata are expected to feature prominently in news reports

over the week-end. As political processes on the territory of what used to be called the Soviet Union are gaining momentum, Russian President Boris Yeltsin's official visit to Italy, announced a month ago, is sure to acquire additional significance. Even more so since the head of the Russian state will travel from Rome to the capital of Kazakhstan to take part in a summit to determine the characteristics of the new commonwealth of independent nations.

Yeltsin's visit to Italy at the invitation of President Francesco Cossiga is his first foreign trip after he and the leaders of Belarus and Ukraine announced the demise of the Soviet Union as a subject of international law and geopolitical reality.

In their concern over the legal succession to the great nuclear power, security and stability in Europe and the world, the political and business communities in Italy and other Western countries are looking at Russia as their main partner and interlocutor. Interestingly, Italy was the first Western country whose foreign minister said the Soviet Union no longer existed.

During his talks with Italy's president and foreign minister and his meetings with Italian senators and business people, Boris Yeltsin will inform them about the development of the situation in Russia and new realities in lieu of the former Union.

These latest changes will most likely be reflected in the agreement on principles of relations between Russia and Italy, which is due to be signed on the first day of the visit. Russia and Italy are also expected to sign a consular agreement and a document on cooperation in trade.

Before leaving Italy for Alma-Ata, the Russian president will meet Pope John Paul II.

Departs for Visit

LD1912084391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0800 GMT 19 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Mineyev and Andrey Pershin]

[Text] Moscow, 19 Dec (TASS)— RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin has left for a two-day official visit to Italy at the invitation of Italian President Francesco Cossiga.

It is planned that an agreement on the general principles for relations between Russia and Italy, a document on trade cooperation, and a consular agreement will be signed during the visit. Boris Yeltsin is to meet President Cossiga as well as the chairman of the Italian Council of Ministers and the foreign minister. The RSFSR president will speak at the Senate and will meet representatives of business circles. A visit to the Vatican and talks with John Paul II, head of the Roman Catholic Church, are planned.

Answering a question from a TASS correspondent prior to his departure, Boris Yeltsin said that the main aim of his visit to Rome is to organize direct links with Italy, have Italy recognize Russia's statehood, and establish diplomatic relations. He also noted that credits for the RSFSR and food supplies will be discussed.

De Michelis Meets Yeltsin

LD1912123791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1150 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Rome, 19 Dec (TASS)— RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin arrived in Italy today on a two-day official visit at the invitation of President Francesco Cossiga. The Russian state anthem was heard for the first time at Fiumicino Airport, which was decorated with the state flags of the two countries. B. Yeltsin and the persons accompanying him were met by Gianni de Michelis, minister of foreign affairs, and other officials. Among those receiving him was Anatoliy Adamishin, the ambassador to Rome. B. Yeltsin inspected a guard of honor.

The program for the visit provides for meetings and talks between the Russian leader and President F. Cossiga and Giulio Andreotti, chairman of the Council of Ministers. The signing of joint Russian- Italian documents is planned. B. Yeltsin will also visit the Vatican.

Western Press Cited on Baker, Yeltsin Meeting

PM1812151991 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 91 p 4

[TASS roundup dated 17 December: "What People in the World Think About the Moscow Meetings"]

[Text] Tokyo—Reporting on the Moscow visit of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, YOMIURI's Moscow correspondent writes: "For the first time since the proclamation of the Community of Independent States Boris Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR, instead of the USSR, held talks with the secretary of state. In the talks it was confirmed that Russia and the three other republics on whose territory strategic nuclear means are sited subscribe to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. This means that the Commonwealth has received international recognition."

"At the same time, however," the newspaper continues, "it is perfectly obvious that both the Yeltsin administration and the Bush administration, beneath whose feet 'the ground is shaking,' sought to use this meeting to give a new boost to their policy on both the international and the internal political plane. As 'head of the Commonwealth,' Russia was faced with the need to secure an assurance of assistance. At the same time the United States, as leader of the West, wanted to obtain guarantees of 'nuclear security.' The results of the talks, it can be said, were satisfactory to both sides. In addition, the United States and Russia were each pursuing another hidden goal. Russia wanted to secure international recognition of the Commonwealth, while the United States wanted to be convinced of the stability and security of the Commonwealth of Independent States and so have

proof concerning the need to form 'an alliance to assist the former Soviet Union,' as announced on the eve of Baker's visit to Moscow."

London—Both Russian leader B. Yeltsin and USSR President M. Gorbachev tried to convince the head of the U.S. foreign policy department that Soviet nuclear arms are under reliable control and that even after the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States there is no danger of their proliferation, THE TIMES points out. The four republics which have nuclear arms on their territory will subscribe to the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons. Three of them—Belarus, the Ukraine, and Kazakhstan—want to secure nuclear-free status.

Paris—Commenting on the Moscow visit of U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker, the French newspaper LE MONDE points out that he was received in the Kremlin by RSFSR President B. Yeltsin, who was accompanied by USSR Defense Minister Ye. Shaposhnikov. This fact confirms that the Russian leader has enlisted the Army's support. J. Baker clearly preferred to meet above all with the leadership of Russia, which wishes to establish direct diplomatic relations with the United States.

In LE MONDE's opinion, J. Baker "buried" the USSR too soon by declaring on the eve of the visit that that state had already passed away, and the secretary of state has now had to make a significant correction and express respect for the Soviet leader. However, the real situation remains bleak for M. Gorbachev. Despite the kind words addressed to the president, the first day of J. Baker's stay in Moscow showed that a new correlation of forces has taken shape.

Washington—A CBS-TV newscaster reported: "Russian President Boris Yeltsin told U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Moscow that the Commonwealth of Independent States will finally replace the former Soviet Union by the end of this month. Boris Yeltsin himself has already practically replaced Mikhail Gorbachev in the post of leader of the state."

"It became perfectly obvious during Baker's visit who is really the leader in the Soviet Union now," the television company's correspondent reported in a reportage from Moscow. "Boris Yeltsin received the U.S. secretary of state in the same Kremlin hall in which the leaders of the Soviet state have always met with the heads of other countries. It was Yeltsin, not Gorbachev, who held a joint news conference with Baker. It is Yeltsin who is issuing various decrees today, giving orders, and doing business with the United States."

Rutskoy, Iran's Vice President View Relations

LD1812172191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1402 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondents Oleg Kuzmin and Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Tehran, 18 Dec (TASS)—"We have a clear and distinct feel for Iran's position on developing cooperation with Russia. This position consists of a readiness to have stable and direct ties in all fields." Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy said this today during his working visit to Iran following a conversation with 'Ata 'ollah Mohajerani, vice president of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In conversation with the TASS correspondent, A. Rutskoy stressed that during the talks "Tehran's desire to conclude agreements with Russia that take account of earlier Soviet-Iranian documents concerning cooperation along with accords regarding present realities became clear." As for trade contacts between Russia and Iran, our countries have excellent opportunities for this. The RSFSR vice president added that specific details of future accords would be drawn up by a special bilateral commission to be established soon.

Mohajerani, on his part, noted that his country has always proceeded with the understanding that Russia was a key republic both in the former USSR and in its replacement, the Commonwealth of Independent States. Every opportunity exists for developing cooperation in the most diverse areas between Iran and Russia. We intend to take full advantage of these opportunities, the Iranian vice president stressed. Talking about prospects for Iran recognizing Russia as an independent state, he pointed out that the rapid nature of the changes taking place in the USSR obligated Tehran not to be too hasty in taking specific steps in that direction. However, Mohajerani added, in time Iran would, evidently, make a decision on the recognition of Russia as an independent state.

Today began with a visit by the Russian vice president to the Ayatollah Khomeyni memorial. A. Rutskoy laid a wreath at the tomb of the founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran and signed the book for guests of honor.

Agree on Trade, Economic Ties

LD1912091891 Moscow TASS in English 0805 GMT 19 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondents Oleg Kuzmin and Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Tehran December 19 TASS—Russia and Iran agreed on Wednesday [18 December] to develop direct trade and economic ties. A Russian-Iranian trading house is being established for this purpose.

Visiting Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy and Iranian Economic and Finance Minister Mohsen Nurbakhsh also discussed the future of Soviet-Iranian economic agreements, including gas deliveries.

The Iranian minister told TASS a meeting of Russia, Azerbaijan and Iran is necessary to settle all disputed economic problems. The date of the meeting will be settled as soon as "Iran gets a better idea of the results of the coming Alma-Ata meeting on the new Comonwealth of Independent States", he explained.

Afghan Opposition Talks 'Tense'

LD1812230391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2135 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondents Oleg Kuzmin and Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Teheran, 18 Dec (TASS)—The talk with representatives of Afghan opposition based in Iran, which took place today within the framework of Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy's working visit to Teheran, was difficult and extremely tense. There were crucial differences of opinion between the RSFSR vice president and Mohammad Fayaz, one of the leaders of the "Afghan Islamic Unity Party," on the implementation of the accords reached in November in Moscow.

According to A. Rutskoy, Russia has met fully the obligations which it undertook and has every reason to expect the same treatment from the opposite side. However, as the vice-president stressed, one of the most important points in the joint statement, the release of a group of Soviet prisoners of war by 1 January 1992, remains unfulfilled, and there is little hope of progress being achieved here.

The mujahidin, on the other hand, believe that in their desire to settle the issues which are important to them, the Russian side "are not taking full account of the interests of the Afghan people." M. Fayaz declined to give any specific illustrations of this. In reply to a TASS correspondent's question about the number of Soviet prisoners in the hands of the "Iranian" part of the opposition, the representative of the "Afghan Islamic Unity Party" said that this party's units are holding two men. He avoided giving any direct indication regarding a possible date for their release.

Despite the evident absence of practical results at today's meeting, one should not be in a hurry to make pessimistic assessments, a member of the Russian delegation told a TASS correspondent. Serious dialogue on this problem with the "Peshawar Seven" is still to come. Then we shall be able to speak of real progress, he stressed.

The subject of an Afghan settlement was also discussed earlier today at a meeting between A. Rutskoy and Iranian Vice President A. Mohajerani. The RSFSR vice president expressed the Russian leadership's request, addressed to Iran, that it use all its influence for a settlement of the situation surrounding Afghanistan and the earliest possible release of the Soviet prisoners of war.

Poland's Deputy Premier on Official Visit

Meets With Gaydar, Yeltsin

LD1912112391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1915 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Andrey Pershin and Viktor Runov]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Dec (TASS)—Poland is interested in good commercial relations with the Commonwealth of Independent States, but "does not intend to join this community". This was stated at a briefing today by Leszek Balcerowicz, deputy head of the Polish government. He paid a one day visit to Moscow at the invitation of Russian President Boris Yeltsin to take part in consultations together with other eminent foreign experts on the problems of the RSFSR's transition to a market.

It was indeed the strategy of the transition to the market and also problems of developing Russian-Polish economic relations under current conditions that were the main topics of conversations between Balcerowicz, Boris Yeltsin and Yegor Gaydar, deputy head of the Russian cabinet. At a meeting with the RSFSR president, the guest told journalists that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Polish territory was discussed. The sides reached agreement on it being "necessary to observe the timescale set earlier". Balcerowicz stressed that Poland's partner in this matter will now be the RSFSR.

The Russian deputy prime minister, speaking at a joint news conference, noted that there had been discussion of how to ensure an uninterrupted process of developing bilateral relations. It is widely known that their scope has sharply decreased of late.

Balcerowicz in turn stated that the results of the talks in Moscow will make it possible to expand reciprocal trade and Polish exports to Russia. "We are following your reforms and are interested in them", he noted. In the view of Balcerowicz, the program of transition to the market presented by the RSFSR government "contains the necessary elements of economic stabilization".

Balcerowicz, Gaydar Discuss Results

LD1812205491 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz is a guest of the Russian Government. He went straight from the airport to the center of Moscow, to Staraya Ploshchad, where the headquarters of the republican authorities are located. Until recently, this building housed the CPSU Central Committee. Two and a half hour talks with Russian Deputy Premier Yegor Gaydar took place here. Both premiers are now speaking about the results.

[Begin recording] [Gaydar, in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] In the first place, we discussed the issue of trade exchange for 1992. We agreed upon that limited group of commodities strategic for our economies, which will be implemented on the basis of interstate agreements. We also agreed upon accounting principles, and a considerable expansion of direct exchange between enterprises.

[Balcerowicz] Yes, I think that it was a very good, concrete, working meeting. It passed in a very good atmosphere, and gave concrete results. Above all, this

concerns mutual trade. We agreed that a treaty specifying which products we would buy in Russia would be signed in the coming days. It is important that we have a guarantee of the supply of products which are strategically important to us, important for the security of our power supply, such as gas and oil. On the other hand, products approximately of the same value as the size of our repayment for oil and gas, which will be sold for our Russian partner, were specified. This involves products such as food, medicine, coal, soda, and others. All in all, the implementation of these arrangements will enable an important increase in Polish exports. Apart from this, there remains another area of this export and mutual trade, already regulated in a more decentralized way. This mechanism will be defined in the forthcoming period. The meeting was also an opportunity to exchange experiences. I think that what is happening here, in Russia, is important for us in living terms. It is most significant, and therefore, we [word indistinct] information on plans, preparations for the economic program, and I think that what was and is happening in Poland also has some value for our friends in Russia. [end recording]

After talks with Yegor Gaydar, Leszek Balcerowicz was received by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, to whom he conveyed greetings and a letter from Lech Walesa, with an invitation to visit our country. A new conference with Deputy Premiers Balcerowicz and Gaydar is currently in progress. This is Andrzej Siezieniewski speaking from Moscow.

Further on Talks

LD1812233291 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 2200 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Excerpt] Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz has been visiting Moscow. This working and consultative visit took place at the invitation of the Russian authorities.

What were the results and what did the exchange of views with Russian politicians entail? I put this question to our Moscow correspondent, Andrzej Siezieniewski—we go over to Moscow.

[Siezieniewski] This visit was awaited by the Russian side with undisguised interest. Boris Yeltsin, greeting the guest at his cabinet at Staraya Ploshchad, earlier occupied by the secretary general of the Communist Party, said that he was grateful that Prime Minister Balcerowicz had wished to come to Moscow so as to assist Russia, above all with advice on getting out of the deep economic chasm and in the implementation of radical reforms. Yeltsin also added that Polish experience in this sphere had been observed very carefully here in Moscow, and that the Russian leadership intends to make use of it.

A similar opinion was also expressed by Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar, who is responsible for economic policy in the government. His talk with Leszek Balcerowicz lasted two and a half hours. The greater part of this time was taken up with concrete trade negotiations as a result of which decisions were made that create an opportunity for the restoration of normality in our trade contacts, reduced this year to a record low level. This is what Yegor Gaydar and Leszek Balcerowicz said today after the end of the meeting. [passage omitted]

Romania Sends Recognition Message

LD1812172891 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1259 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Leu]

[Text] Bucharest, 18 Dec (TASS)—Romanian President Ion Iliescu today sent a message to President Boris Yeltsin informing him of Romania's decision to recognize the independence of Russia as a separate state. This was stated by a Romanian Foreign Ministry spokesman at a meeting with journalists.

He stated that the letter also expresses the Romanian state's readiness to establish diplomatic relations with Russia and to develop bilateral relations of friendship, mutual understanding, and cooperation on the basis of the principles of international law and the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter for a New Europe. Ion Iliescu uses the occasion to renew, in the message, his invitation to B. Yeltsin to make an official visit to Romania during which it is planned to sign a treaty of friendship and cooperation between the two countries as well as bilateral documents and agreements.

Finland To Recognize Russia, Treaty Replaced

LD1812202591 Moscow TASS in English 1920 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow December 18 TASS—The renovated treaty of good-neighborliness and cooperation between Finland and Russia, ready for signing, will be replaced by a treaty on the fundamentals of relations between Finland and Russia, the Finnish government said in a statement presented to the Russian Foreign Ministry by the Finnish Ambassador to Moscow Heikki Talvitie.

In beginning talks on signing the treaty and other diplomatic documents with Russia, Finland proceeds from the assumption that the signing of these documents amounts to recognizing Russia as an independent state.

Deputy Foreign Minister of Russia Boris Kolokolov stressed that the Finnish government statement is a de facto recognition of Russia as a sovereign independent state.

As regards juridical form, it will be observed after Finland and Russia sign specific bilateral agreements. The importance of cooperation between the two states is difficult to overestimate, Kolokolov said. Indeed, the bulk of Soviet-Finnish cultural and economic ties was oriented towards Russia.

Also today, the Ambassador of Romania to Moscow, Vasile Sandru, handed over the Romanian President Ion Iliescu's message for Russian President Boris Yeltsin. The message contains Bucharest's diplomatic recognition of Russia as an independent sovereign state. The ambassador also conveyed an invitation to Boris Yeltsin to visit Romania.

Russia Must Remain 'Neutral' Over Honecker

LD1812180191 Moscow TASS in English 1311 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Viktor Runov and Andrey Surzhanski]

[Text] Moscow, December 18 (TASS)— The Russian Government cannot deport former East German leader to Germany, it has to take a neutral stance, a senior Russian official, who asked to remain anonymous, told TASS. Russian authorities should not impede Honecker's leaving for a third country, he said, adding it would be the best solution to the problem.

There are two points of view on the Honecker problem in the Russian leadership, but both of them demand that he no longer stay in the republic, the official said. One side of the Russian authorities stubbornly demands that the former East German leader be deported, while the other believes they should "wait till the problem settles by itself". The official said he believes the second stand will prevail.

Russian authorities have not given permission for Honecker's leaving to a third country, and he cannot leave the Chilean Embassy without the permission, the official eplained.

The deportation of Honecker can undermine Russia's international prestige, the official holds. "The more persistent are the demands to deport him, the less acceptable is the solution for Russia", he said.

The former East German leader is still staying in the Chilean Embassy in Moscow.

Pyongyang has not changed its position to welcome Honecker "for further medical treatment", TASS was told today by the North Korean Embassy in Moscow. No reply has yet been received to the North Korean official request to let Honecker leave Russia, the embassy said.

Federation Affairs

Yeltsin Interviewed by Italian Newspaper

PM1812154091 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 17 Dec 91 pp 2-3

[Interview with Russian President Boris Yeltsin by Enrico Franceschini in Moscow on 16 December]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Franceschini] Do you think that the Commonwealth constitutes a sufficient guarantee of peace against the threat of ethnic and territorial conflicts between its members states and, within individual states, between the peoples and ethnic groups of the autonomous regions?

[Yeltsin] I think that the Commonwealth is the best solution for averting such problems, because it guarantees each state's independence.

[Franceschini] So are you happy about the future of the 11 million Russians living in Ukraine and the Russians of the Baltics?

[Yeltsin] I cannot say that I am "happy." But the Commonwealth and Russia's bilateral agreements with the Baltic countries defend minorities' rights, equal treatment, and human rights. [passage omitted]

[Franceschini] What do you think of Gavriil Popov's resignation as mayor of Moscow?

[Yeltsin] I tried to persuade him to stay, at least until the spring, since he was elected by the people of Moscow. But in the past few days he has said that there are health reasons. The deputy mayor and chief of the city council do not approve of his decision; he is still needed.

[Franceschini] Who will fill the USSR's seat on the UN Security Council?

[Yeltsin] This question will be resolved by the Commonwealth states. But we think that, for historical reasons, the seat should be held by Russia, at least for a while. I discussed this with Baker today, and we are asking the United States to support us in this.

[Franceschini] Is there a place for Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in the Commonwealth structures?

[Yeltsin] No. I talked to him this morning, I told him that I am about to sign a decree to merge the Soviet Foreign Ministry with the Russian Foreign Ministry. [passage omitted]

[Franceschini] How do you judge the work done by Gorbachev? What mistakes do you think he has made?

[Yeltsin] I highly appreciate the first stage of his work, in 1985-86, the start of perestroyka; he did a great deal for democracy, domestically, and in foreign policy. Perhaps if Gorbachev had not been there, someone else would have done it, but the importance of his role and his work is obvious. But since 1987 he has committed several errors. Time has been wasted, economic reform has not been introduced, it has been a process of half-measures. But I do not want to speak ill of Gorbachev. I repeat: I respect and appreciate what he has achieved. And if he decides to resign, Russia will shoulder his responsibilities and ensure that Gorbachev receives a pension and treatment that he will be happy with.

[Franceschini] The impression is that, despite a "good working relationship," you two do not like each other personally...

[Yeltsin] In recent months our relations have been fairly good. Of course, we have never had friendly relations. I cannot say that he treated me very well, from a personal viewpoint, at the time of the 1987 events (Yeltsin's expulsion from the Politburo—LA REPUBBLICA editor's note). But since the coup, when he realized that communism cannot coexist with a market economy, our relations have been better, closer. If he had had this attitude from the outset, everything would have been easier.

[Franceschini] Boris Nikolayevich, do you plan to join a new party—Shevardnadze's and Yakovlev's, for instance?

[Yeltsin] Not Shevardnadze's and Yakovlev's, because my impression is that it is setting itself up in opposition to the leadership of Russia and the Commonwealth.

[Franceschini] How would you define your political ideology?

[Yeltsin] Communism has failed. It was a tragic experiment which unfortunately involved not a small country of 3 million inhabitants, but a vast country. I now feel close to the social democratic ideal.

[Franceschini] Some people criticize you for having chosen as your advisers old aides from Sverdlovsk, from your time as local CPSU chief...

[Yeltsin] What is wrong in that? The coup showed that Gorbachev was betrayed by everyone, from ministers to bodyguards. Why can I not have around me people that I have known for years and that I can trust. In any case they account for less than 5 percent of my "team." [passage omitted]

[Franceschini] Do you think that America and Europe trust you more now?

[Yeltsin] Yes, relations have improved, especially since the coup.

[Franceschini] You are about to visit Italy. What is the status of your relations with our government?

[Yeltsin] Of course, I remember 19 August, my joy at hearing the voice of Andreotti, who had managed to get in touch with me to tell me that he supported, on the Italian people's behalf, our struggle for democracy. That support was very important for us then. Now we have very close, very extensive, and active economic ties with Italy.

[Franceschini] You will also be meeting with the pope in Rome. You were baptized by your mother as a child. Do you believe in God?

[Yeltsin] I respect all faiths, all religions. I also go to church, to mass, fairly regularly, and I find it moving to enter the house of God. They tried to impose atheism at all costs, but they failed.

[Franceschini] After the coup, you took a rest for two weeks. The rumor that you were ill alarmed the world. My last question is very simple: Boris Nikolayevich, what is your state of health?

[Yeltsin] That period was a necessary pause for reflection, to reappraise strategies and stances. Perhaps without that rest the agreement of the past few days would not have come about. As for my health, I did not suffer any heart attack. During that short rest period I played tennis four hours a day. As you know, for somebody of my age, that means that I am fairly well.

Yeltsin Interviewed on Italian TV

LD1912101591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0115 GMT 19 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksey Bukalov and Nikolay Teterin]

[Text] Rome, 19 Dec (TASS)—On the eve of his official visit to Italy, Boris Yeltsin, president of Russia, gave an interview to Italian Television's First Program (broadcast on Wednesday [18 December] evening), in which he dwelled on processes taking place in the country, the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States, and relations with Mikhail Gorbachev.

Recalling the formation of the Union in 1922, B. Yeltsin said that today the Union, as such, does not exist. On its base we are building a union of sovereign states that will have no single center of administration— the center that is missing from the treaty which has been signed, the center that for decades and decades continued to oppress everybody. There will no longer be any such center, since we all have a kind of allergy to it. Thus far we have no intention of creating any kind of central body, with the exception of the unified strategic forces. Thus we are talking about a single command.

Going on to the problem of nuclear arms control, the president of Russia recalled: "Ukraine and Belarus have stated that they do not want to have such weapons, and hence they will continue to eliminate them in accordance with treaties already concluded". As for Kazakhstan, this matter will be discussed in Alma Ata on 21 December. But I see nothing dramatic in this, B. Yeltsin continued. Even if nuclear weapons do remain on the territory of the two republics, they will be under the control of a single central military command. There are no problems regarding this. All states should have confifdence, calm, and security in this context.

Turning to social and economic problems, Boris Yeltsin recognized the possibility of definite social upsets arising from the freeing of prices, scheduled for 2 January. But we have implemented a number of measures to protect the most poorly paid sections of the working people—pensioners, invalids, war veterans, and students. Of course we cannot count on there being no dissatisfied people, he continued. But we rule out the possibility that such problems will lead to any forms of violence. You

have to work with people, talk to them, persuade them, and act in such a way as to get through this critical period which will undoubtedly continue for some six to seven months.

Replying to a question about democratic reforms, Boris Yeltsin said: "I cannot say that Russia is a completely democratic, completely law-governed state. We still have a long way to go in this area. The United States needed 200 years for this, Italy needed decades. We however are only at the start of the way. We have wasted six to seven years! We regret that. But I think that we are moving along the road with the object of asserting democracy".

According to the president of Russia, Mikhail Gorbachev is practically no longer playing any role in the sociopolitical life of the country. This process will end in December. Answering a question about where Mikhail Gorbachev has made the greatest mistakes, Boris Yeltsin said: "I would not want to start talking about his mistakes, that would be ugly from an ethical point of view. Like all the world, we respect him for what he has done, especially during the first years of perestroyka, beginning in 1985-86, even if in 1987 he began to make mistakes which led the country to the present negative period. He thought of uniting the impossible: communism and the market, ownership by the people and private ownership, a multiparty system and the CPSU. Those are impossible alliances. But he wanted to achieve them and that is what his main strategic mistake amounts to. Once again I repeat: I would not want to talk about them. We must respect Gorbachev as the president of the Union who has done much for his country."

Going on to bilateral relations, B. Yeltsin said: "We maintain quite well-developed and diversified relations with Italy. We feel great trust and respect for Italian entrepreneurs and also for representatives in other areas. But now an extra stimulus is needed, especially at the current stage of transition to a market. This stimulus should consist in the signing of direct agreements and contracts between Italy and Russia."

Asked what, specifically, he proposes to enhance the level of bilateral cooperation between Italy and Russia, B. Yeltsin said: "First and foremost, a direct treaty already exists between Italy and Russia. It was one of the first to be signed and this is the first guarantee regarding each other. Second, we have passed a law on economic activities with foreign states. The matter concerns large concessions. Taking into consideration the size of our market and the natural resources that we possess, and also the low labor costs, Italian entrepreneurs can make big profits by deploying their capital in our country. In this context, we are extending an invitation to them and guaranteeing that there will be political stability in Russia. By the end of next year, we shall see the start of stability in economic and financial life, at least, and people's lives will begin to improve. I am confident of that."

Further on Interview

LD1912083491 Moscow TASS in English 0804 GMT 19 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondents Aleksey Bukalov and Nikolay Teterin]

[Text] Rome December 19 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin gave an interview to Italian TV First Programme on the eve of his visit to Italy on Wednesday [18 December].

Yeltsin said the Soviet Union no longer exists and a new Commonwealth of Independent States is being created on the basis of what used to be the U.S.S.R. The new Commonwealth treaty does not envisage any centralised body except for the united strategic army command, Yeltsin said.

Ukraine and Belarus do not want nuclear weapons on their soil and Kazakhstan will straighten its stand in the Alma-Ata talks on December 21. Even if two states possess the nuclear weapons there is nothing dramatic about it because a unified strategic command is envisaged, Yeltsin said.

Yeltsin said certain social unrest is likely after prices are set free on January 2. Still, a number of social protection actions has been taken in Russia to ease off the difficult period which is sure to last 6-7 months, according to Yeltsin.

Russia has a long way to go towards a democratic society and it has wasted 6-7 years, Yeltsin said.

President Mikhail Gorbachev does not play any role in the Soviet Union, he said, refusing to comment on Gorbachev's mistakes which have lead to the present-day crisis. Gorbachev wanted to marry communism and market, public property and private property, multiparty system and communist ideology, which is doomed to failure, Yeltsin said. His strategic mistake is probably there, he said.

Yeltsin said bilateral agreements are necessary to give a new impetus to Soviet-Italian relations.

Yeltsin Issues Law Transferring Union Budget

LD1812133191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1050 GMT 18 Dec 91

["RSFSR Law On Interrelations With The Union Budget Until The End Of 1991"—TASS headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received] For purposes of regulating interrelations with the Union budget and questions concerning the financing of the joint expenditure of the member states of the economic community and the urgent expenditure of enterprises, establishments, and organizations transferred from Union subordination to the jurisdiction of the RSFSR out of the republican

budget of the RSFSR up to the end of 1991, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet hereby resolves:

Article One. To finance expenditure that was formerly covered out of the Union budget and the all-Union extra-budgetary fund for the stabilization of the economy for enterprises, establishments, and organizations transferred to the jurisdiction of the RSFSR to the extent of 17.6 billion rubles [R].

Article Two. To finance the joint expenditures of the sovereign states that belonged formerly to the USSR for defense needs, for the servicing of the external and internal state debt, and for maintaining the all-Union bodies of power to the extent of R25,900 million.

Article Three. To grant permission to the Central Bank of the RSFSR to provide the Government of the RSFSR with credit in the sum of R36.5 billion by means of issues; applying the credits connected with the financing of enterprises, establishments, and organizations transferred to the jurisdiction of the RSFSR and the financing of the joint expenditure referred to in Article Two of the present law to the increase of the internal state debt of the RSFSR.

The Government of the RSFSR and the Central Bank of the RSFSR are to conclude the appropriate credit agreement before 26 December 1991.

[Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian on 19 December 1991 carries in its First Edition on page 2 the text of the RSFSR law entitled "RSFSR Law on Relations With the Union Budget Through the End of 1991," provides the alternative date of 16 December instead of 26 December]

Article Four. For the purpose of partly compensating in financial resources the additional expenditure of the RSFSR republic budget in 1991 it is established that all revenue that has entered the Union budget on the territory of the RSFSR since 1 November 1991 be added in full to the RSFSR republic budget.

Article Five. Financing the expenditure incurred in the activity of the liquidation commissions of the USSR ministries and departments that are being abolished is to be carried out at the expense of the RSFSR republic budget.

Article Six. The government of the RSFSR will:

A. Examine estimates of budget expenditure for the enterprises, establishments, and organizations transferred to the jurisdiction of the RSFSR and determine amounts of allocations until the end of 1991. Provide financing of the expenditure referred to in accordance with the extraordinary financing conditions introduced by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet for the fourth quarter of 1991;

B. Confirm expenditure on the maintenance of the liquidation commissions of the former union ministries and departments, including items connected with compensation payments to workers that are made in accordance with the RSFSR labor legislation;

C. Hold talks with the member states of the economic community about the size of their share in financing until the end of 1991 expenditure linked with the social guarantees for servicemen; running expenses in maintaining troops and security forces and servicing the external state debt; and also other joint expenditure;

D. Ensure the issuing of bonds of the RSFSR state republic internal loan;

E. Regulate interrelations with the RSFSR pensions fund;

F. Examine the question of financing capital investments, having in mind the transfer of industrial construction projects from budget financing to crediting by banks with the partial settlement of interest payments on the credits out of the resources of the republic budget of the RSFSR.

[signed] RSFSR President B. Yeltsin, House of the Soviets of the RSFSR, Moscow, 5 December 1991. [date as received]

Budget, Land Reform, Food Decrees Approved

LD1812144391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMt 18 Dec 91

[Text] The Russian Federation Government press service issued the following statement today:

A routine session of the Russian Federation Government took place under President Yeltsin's chairmanship on 18 December. The president's decrees have been examined and government decisions have been adopted on budget plans for 1992, on the draft republican budget for the first quarter of 1992, on property division to various levels of the state administration and on measures to liberalize foreign economic activity, on the introduction of export tariffs on individual goods taken out of the Russian Federation and on export and import licenses and quotas.

A package of presidential decrees on the implementation of land reform, providing for a procedure to reorganize collective and state farms and for the creation of state food stocks for 1992, was also adopted. In addition, decrees were adopted on additional measures to provide welfare support for the population, on increasing compensation payments in 1992, on the procedure for the indexation of the population's money incomes and on nonstate pension funds.

The government also approved several amendments to the Russian Constitution. They will be submitted by the president to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet by way of legislative initiative.

Burbulis on Nuclear Controls, Possible Coup

OW1812205191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Vice-Premier Gennadiy Burbulis answered a question by an Interfax correspondent at a press-conference in Moscow, Wednesday [18 December], as to who will have a hand on the "nuclear button". He said the issue will be settled in several stages.

At the first stage a decision concerning the button will rest with the heads of state of the republics where nuclear arms are deployed. "The difference will be taken into consideration between those having nuclear arms on their territory and those who have the controls", he explained. The question is to be debated more at the meeting in Alma-Ata, Dec 21.

To the question by Interfax how plausible was another military coup G. Burbulis expressed an opinion that "after the Minsk agreement the possibility has diminished sharply". But he urged "to be on the alert seeing how great the stakes are".

Kozyrev: Nuclear Arms To Remain 'Centralized'

LD1912091291 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Andrey Kozyrev, the Russian minister of foreign affairs, in an interview with American journalists, has stated that the Russian Government hopes that the transition from the Union to the Commonwealth will flow peacefully. He has also noted that all the Union structures will be abolished and transformed. Some officials of these departments will automatically come under RSFSR subordination, and some under subordination of other republics. Control over strategic nuclear weapons will be centralized, said Andrey Kozyrev.

Official Favors Economic Shock Therapy

OW1812220191 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpt] Russia's Deputy-Premier Yegor Gaydar has conceded that we can't expect the Russian people to cheer about a shock therapy programme. "But it would be still worse to delay it", he said at Wednesday's [18 December] press-conference in Moscow.

Any stabilization programme is fraught with social conflicts, he went on, and "in post-socialist economy doubly so".

He expressed doubt that President Yeltsin agrees with Vice- President Rutskoy's sharp criticism of Russia's government. Boris Yeltsin, he said, "can't pass the buck to anyone and needn't play political games". [passage omitted]

Interrepublic Affairs

TASS Rounds Up Baker's Visit to Minsk, Kiev

LD1812235191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2225 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Excerpts] Moscow, 19 Dec (TASS)—During James Baker's visit, the U.S. secretary of state has visited two capitals—Minsk and Kiev.

At exactly 1300, a BELTA-TASS correspondent reports, an aircraft landed at Minsk airport. The U.S. secretary of state arrived in the capital of Belarus from Alma-Ata on his trip around the sovereign republics of the former Union.

Initially, a small group met in the government residence. The group comprised, on the Belorussian side, Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet; Vyacheslav Kebich, chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Pyotr Kravchenko, the minister of foreign affairs; and, on the American side, James Baker; Reginald Bartholomew, first under secretary of state; and Dennis Ross, director for Policy Planning Staff. Then the participants were joined in their talks by Pyotr Chaus, the Republic of Belarus minister for defense affairs; General Shalikashvili, the deputy commander of U.S. Armed Forces in Europe [name and position as received]; and Steve Hadley, deputy U.S. minister of defense; along with other officials from both sides. [passage omitted]

During Baker's conversation in the Ukraine, issues connected to the control of nuclear weapons in the Ukraine and the democratic and economic reforms taking place here were discussed. There was also talk of the United States offering the Ukraine aid to resolve the problem of eliminating its nuclear weapons. Considerable attention was devoted to the issue of the United States recognizing Ukrainian independence.

James Baker expressed his satisfaction with the comprehensive answers to the questions of interest to him regarding the Ukraine's course towards democratic changes and its movement towards a free market.

In the evening, once the talks with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk were over, James Baker, the U.S. secretary of state, held a news conference for Ukrainian and foreign correspondents. Tomorrow, on 19 December, James Baker is to leave Kiev early in the morning.

Belarus

Baker Visit Noted; Shushkevich Interviewed

LD1812183691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] As you are well aware, comrades—at least, we have reported this on more than one occasion—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker is visiting our country. Our Belarus correspondent, Pyotr Makritskiy, will now talk about this visit and how it is going:

[Begin Makritskiy recording] The Minsk talks, as far as I can judge, were not all that lengthy—a little over three hours—but they were packed regarding the issues discussed. They took place behind closed doors, although correspondents were allowed for just a few minutes at the beginning into the hall where James Baker met the leaders of the Belarus republic: Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich, Council of Ministers Chairman Vyacheslav Kebich, and the ministers of foreign affairs and defense matters. Then journalists were invited into the talks between the delegations.

Prospects for the agreements recently signed between the leaders of the three independent states—Russia, the Ukraine, and Belarus—were discussed as well as the problems of nuclear disarmament and humanitarian aid. We managed to interview Stanislav Shushkevich. He said that we clearly and precisely stated in our independence declaration that Belarus will be a non-nuclear zone and a neutral state, but such things do not happen in a flash. Therefore, the length of time the process could take could vary considerably. Incidentally, it depends on the extent to which Belarus's position will be properly recognized by world opinion, and in particular, by the United States. [end recording]

I will add to what Pyotr Makritskiy has just reported that today, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker arrived in the Ukraine. Included in the program for his visit to Kiev is a conversation with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk as well as a working dinner to be followed by talks between the full delegations. It is expected that the main issues in the talks will be related to U.S. recognition of the Ukraine, the situation following the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States, and attitudes to nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory. I will remind you that during his working visit to date, James Baker has held talks in Moscow, Bishkek, and Alma-Ata.

Leaders Discuss Visit

LD1812191991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1830 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By BELTA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Minsk, 18 Dec (TASS)—After the end of talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, Chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet Stanislav Shushkevich and Chairman of the Belarus Council of Ministers Vyacheslav Kebich held a news conference here today.

According to the head of the republic's parliament, the U.S. side showed good knowledge of the situation in Belarus and highly assessed the state of its economic infrastructure, the efforts of the Belarus leaders aimed at democratizing social processes, and the consistency of these efforts.

The U.S. side, in Stanislav Shushkevich's view, is highly satisfied with the fact that it has entered into direct contact with the republics. In the course of the talks, questions were discussed about the Commonwealth of Independent States, nuclear security, and humanitarian and other aid to the republics.

Having stressed the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, the U.S. secretary of state positively assessed the formation of the Commonwealth. The U.S. side expressed readiness to give direct aid to the newly formed sovereign states, because the aid received by the center has simply not been reaching the republics.

Belarus reaffirmed its endeavors to become a nuclear-free neutral state. This, however, is something that does not happen overnight. The length of time this process takes will also depend on the republic being recognized in the world, including by the United States, Stanislav Shushkevich stressed.

Parliament Submits Commonwealth Amendments

LD1812195891 Moscow TASS in English 1835 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Minsk December 18 BELTA-TASS—A national policy and international relations commission of the Belarussian parliament today sent the texts of draft amendments and corrections to the agreement to establish the Commonwealth of Independent States to the Supreme Soviets of the republics which have signed the agreement.

The Belarussian parliament calls for guarantees of free travel and free information exchange between the Commonwealth member- states. Another proposal concerns the division of the former Soviet Union's property and valuables, including its golden stock, Goznak and Gokhran enterprises, the property of the former Soviet Union's diplomatic missions abroad, the mint court, the Gosbank, the Navy, the merchant marines and the fishing fleet.

The Commonwealth of Independent States cannot admit as its member a state guilty of violating the rights of man or ethnic minorities recorded in international law, if it is at war with another country or claiming another country's territory, the Belarussian parliament says.

New members can be admitted only by decision of the supreme bodies of state authority of the Commonwealth member-countries on principles of consensus.

New Entry, Exit Rules on Foreigners Adopted

OW1912160091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1440 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Belarus's Foreign Ministry decided to adopt new rules for inviting foreigners. Vladimir Astapenko, chief of its information department, told IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent that the revision of entry and exit rules for foreigners is connected with Belarus's decision to act independently in the area of external relations. "From now on we'll decide whom to invite here on our own," he said.

According to V. Astapenko, his republic will have its own list of "undesirable" persons which used to be compiled by Moscow.

Moldova

Legislators Applaud Yeltsin Recognition

LD1812184491 Moscow TASS in English 1720 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By correspondent Fedor Angeli]

[Text] Kishinev December 18 TASS—The statement by Russian President Boris Yeltsin recognising Moldova's independence was greeted by Moldavian parliamentarians with tumultuous applause.

At the morning session Moldavian people's deputies discussed the draft law on "restoring rights of victims of political repression." The document was returned for further review. At the evening session the parliamentarians began to consider a draft law on "indexation of monetary incomes of the population."

Cossacks Arrive To Defend Dnestr Republic

LD1912152691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 19 Dec 91

["Television News Service" feature]

[Text] Kishinev—Despite the fact that a conciliatory commission is working in the Dnestr Republic, the situation there is still far from normal. Following the recent bloodshed in Dubossary, emotions are still high. According to reports that have been received, Cossack detachments have started to arrive there to defend the Dnestr Republic, which was declared unconstitutional by the Moldova parliament.

Ukraine

Baker, Kravchuk Hold News Conference

LD1812225191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2212 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondents Aleksey Petrunya and Aleksey Trotsenko]

[Text] Kiev, 19 Dec (TASS)--After completing talks, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker held a news conference for Ukrainian and foreign correspondents on the evening of

18 December. We are extremely pleased with the analysis that the U.S. secretary of state made concerning the Ukraine and its independence, Leonid Kravchuk said. We have had fruitful talks and, for our part, assured James Baker that the Ukraine will adhere to the principles of democratic reform and will strive for the status of a nuclear-free power and for the elimination of nuclear arms on its territory. The Ukraine will seek unified control over the non-use of nuclear weapons, adhere to all the treaties connected with the reduction of conventional arms in Europe, and will promote the soonest possible ratification of the treaty on reducing strategic nuclear forces concluded between the U.S. and the USSR. We have turned to the U.S. so that experts will be sent to the Ukraine as quickly as possible to help solve the problem of destroying nuclear weapons, Leonid Kravchuk commented. We want to do this not in seven years, as planned, but possibly in a shorter period. We have also made requests to the U.S. connected with certain matters in the economic field.

James Baker noted that President Kravchuk had given full and exhaustive answers to all the questions interesting him, and they were completely satisfactory. We are satisfied with the Ukraine's moves towards democracy, its progress toward the free market, and its approach to issues of nuclear security, James Baker stressed.

Leonid Kravchuk and James Baker answered numerous questions from Ukrainian and foreign journalists. In particular, dealing with the question of U.S. recognition of Ukrainian independence, Leonid Kravchuk commented that if the United States does this as quickly as possible, it will be one more guarantee of firm progress by the Ukraine toward democracy and independence.

Workers Association Criticizes Commonwealth

LD1812170991 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2300 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] The All-Ukrainian Association of Working People (AAWP) Presidium, together with the Committee for Social and Legal Protection of Employees of the Militia, have decided to hold a joint rally opposite the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet on the morning of 23 December. Militiamen will demand a salary increase and the resignation of the reactionary—as they claim—board of Ukrainian Internal Affairs Ministry. In its turn, the AAWP will criticize the agreement on setting up a Commonwealth of Independent States. The association's presidium believes that the existence of the foreign army on Ukrainian territory under the guise of the strategic armed forces, as well as the lack of a Ukrainian currency and customs offices, will lead to the Ukraine losing its state sovereignty.

Republican Party Examines Commonwealth Accord

LD1812234191 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] The Ukrainian Republican Party Secretariat, at its enlarged sitting, examined the agreement on setting up the Commonwealth of Independent States. Several reservations entered by the Supreme Soviet deputies to the agreement were not known to the Secretariat at the time of the sitting. After giving assessment of the political situation which has taken shape on the territory of the former USSR, the participants of the sitting arrived at the conclusion that the agreement has both positive and negative facets. The following should be regarded as its positive facets:

1. A great geopolitical event has taken place: The USSR has ceased to exist as a state. Therefore, it loses its membership in the UN and other international organizations and ceases to be subject to international law or factors of international policy. The Ukraine enters the international arena and inherits the appropriate proportion of the USSR's international obligations. The arrangement of political forces in Europe and in the world changes to our advantage.

2. The fact of liquidation of the USSR frees all servicemen from taking the oath of allegiance. The way to creating the national armed forces opens.

3. The emission of money in Russia and the lack of sufficient amounts of money in the Ukraine have lead to the robbery of our commodity market. Now, according to the agreement, Russia assumes the obligation to print the necessary amount of money for us, which will make it possible to increase prices and salaries to the level of Russian ones. This is the most effective means of protecting our commodity market before the national currency is introduced.

4. The great-power anti-Ukrainian forces—the fifth column—have lost support in the imperial structures. From now on the anti-Ukrainian and anti-state agitation becomes illegal.

The negative facets of this agreement are the following:

1. The joint administration of strategic forces, power engineering, and transport is envisaged. The threat of setting up new superstate structures thus remains. We, as is known, support direct interstate or multilateral agreements on specific problems: nuclear forces, the Chernobyl problem, and others.

2. The preservation of the common information space poses a threat of conducting a anti-Ukrainian campaign through the foreign mass media: the Moscow radio, television, and press.

3. The common economic space not only makes it possible for the Ukrainian enterprises to sign contracts

on mutual deliveries, which is a positive fact, but also envisages free movement of the work force into the Ukraine.

4. The condition of the agreement, according to which the inviolability of borders is recognized only within the boundaries of the Commonwealth, is unacceptable.

The real benefit or harm caused by this agreement will be determined in the first place by the correlation of real political forces. One has to make sure that its negative facets do not prevail over the positive ones. It is extremely important now to subordinate to the Ukraine all troops deployed on our territory, introduce our own currency as soon as possible, and strengthen the customs service to secure normal living conditions for the people.

Democratic Party Leader Views Commonwealth

LD1912113791 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 16 Dec 91

[Text] The Ukrainian Democratic Party issued a political statement today appraising the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States of the Ukraine, Russia, and Belarus. Yuriy Badzyo, one of its leaders, is on the phone with an express commentary:

[Badzyo] In our statement we pointed out in the first place that the circumstances forced the taking of some step. The Minsk initiative of the leaders of the three states was urgent and [word indistinct]. As for the Minsk decisions on renouncing the 1922 treaty and declaring that the USSR has ceased to exist as a subject of international law—these decisions are lawful because they were made by the founders of the USSR and, second, because the Supreme Soviets had adopted declarations on the state sovereignty of their republics.

At the same time, however, we appraised the Minsk treaty as a transitional form of cooperation among independent states on the road to dismantling the empire and emerging from the economic crisis. Essentially, we rejected the commonwealth as an interstate union. In the actual conditions of Ukrainian political reality, the creation of the so-called commonwealth, in our view, will sustain and even reinforce the inertia of the imperial attitude to the Ukraine by certain Russian political forces. It will leave the Ukrainian people exposed to their eternal encroachment on our freedom; it will help to preserve certain imperial structures of power. On the whole, such a situation will hinder and endanger the assertion of the state independence of the Ukraine.

Armenia

Supreme Soviet Applauds Russian Recognition

LD1812214191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1350 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan, 18 Dec (TASS)—Those participating in the session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet applauded with approval at the announcement that the Russian Federation had recognized the republic's independence. Babken Ararktsyan, first deputy head of the parliament, who was chairing today's session, read the text of the statement by RSFSR President Boris Yeltsin and called this recognition a momentous event. The deputies and guests also received with satisfaction the report about an agreement being signed in Bucharest regarding the restoration of diplomatic relations between Romania and Armenia. This is the second country, after Lithuania, to establish diplomatic relations with Armenia.

Then the parliamentarians started to discuss the temporary draft law on the state of emergency in connection with the crisis in Armenia's fuel and energy complex. This issue is of more than mere topical interest for the republic which, according to official figures, over the last few days has received no fuel oil at all because of the new railroad blockade. In addition, the gas pipeline carrying gas from the Russian Federation has been closed on Azerbaijani territory since 4 November.

Albert Vartanyan, head of the economic section of the Armenian Council of Ministers, informed them that the stores in the underground gas depositories from which the Yerevan residents receive the minimum of fuel are practically empty, and the electricity network working at maximum capacity is shutting down from time to time in order to economize on electricity, which is in such short supply. In such extreme circumstances, the representative of the government has emphasized, a number of enterprises, including cooperatives and some people carrying out their individual labor activities, are continuing to use unlimited quantities of electricity. Meanwhile, the authorities do not have the necessary legal levers to adopt sanctions with regard to anyone violating the regime of economizing—and it is just such a legal basis which the draft law currently under debate is to provide. If it is adopted, then anyone breaking the law can expect a fine of 2,000 rubles or more.

President Views Russia's Recognition

LD1812215191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 18 Dec 91

["TV Inform" video report by V. Nazaryan, including interview with Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan on 18 December; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Nazaryan] The recognition of Armenia's independence by Russia was headline news in the republic today, temporarily silencing all other events, including even our problems. The severe energy crisis has gone into second place, although according to estimates by specialists, gas stores will hardly last until the new year.

Also in second place is the tense situation in the south, which has forced the president to declare a state of emergency in one rayon, and the escalation of military actions by Azerbaijan in Nagorno-Karabakh. [Video shows Nazaryan sitting in TV studio]

[Ter-Petrosyan] Relations with Russia for Armenia have been and will in the future be of priority significance. I am convinced that mutual recognition will help strengthen the centuries-old friendly links between Russia and Armenia. We were the first republic that expressed readiness to join the Commonwealth, and I am convinced that this is the only way to create states which truly have equal rights.

[Nazaryan] That is, the republic will take part in the Alma-Ata meeting on 21 December?

[Ter-Petrosyan] Yes, it will, and agreement has already been achieved.

[Nazaryan] There was a free political discussion on this topic today in parliament. Unfortunately it did not last long, as there was no lighting. There is no exception from the strict economic schedule even for the Supreme Soviet at the moment. The vast majority of deputies approved the Armenian president signing an agreement on the Commonwealth in the Kazkhstan capital on 21 December.

Republic Recognizes Russia's Independence

NC1812201091 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 18 Dec 91

["Statement Issued by the President of the Armenian Republic"—radio headline]

[Text] Taking into consideration the fact that the trilateral agreement between the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, the Ukraine, and Belarus has been ratified by the Russian Supreme Soviet by noting the (?dissolution) of the former Soviet Union, the Armenian Republic declares the recognition of the independence of Russia, whose government and people have proven their dedication to universal human values and to the defense of human and national rights.

The peoples of Armenia and Russia are linked to each other by sincere ties of friendship after one century [sentence as received]. We are convinced that the establishment and development of interstate relations between our two sovereign states would only help to deepen this friendship.

We express our readiness to cooperate with the Russian Federation in all spheres of activity of our peoples for the sake of their prosperity and for the establishment of peace and security in the (?region).

Ukraine, Kazakhstan To Recognize Republic

OW1812213991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenia's President Levon Ter-Petrosyan has announced that the Presidents of Ukraine and Kazakhstan L. Kravchuk and N. Nazarbayev have assured him that they will shortly recognize Armenia's independence. That has been agreed on the telephone today, Wednesday [18 December], as Ter-Petrosyan has told the republic's parliament.

Russia, as is known, has already recognized Armenia's independence.

According to the news agency Snark Ter-Petrosyan stresses that this results from consistent efforts by the present Armenian leadership. "There are no obstacles", he said, "to Armenia's signing the agreement on the Commonwealth of Independent States in Alma-Ata, Dec 21".

At the same time the President warned that the ratification may require certain reservations, principally concerning Nagorno-Karabakh. He suggested changing the wording of the clause stipulating that republics with autonomies within should constitutionally define their status while entering the Commonwealth.

Armenia's President spoke in favour of keeping for some time joint armed forces whose presence in the republics should be regulated by a special document.

Republic Recognizes Kazakhstan Independence

NC1812203591 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] The leadership of the Armenian Republic declares the recognition of the independence of Kazakhstan Republic in keeping with the decision of the Kazakhstan's parliament, which manifests the democratic choice of the peoples of Kazakhstan.

In welcoming the declaration of the independence of Kazakhstan, the leadership of the Armenian Republic is convinced of the need to develop interstate relations between Armenia and Kazakhstan and to impart a (?new) status to them.

We express the readiness to sign a bilateral agreement based on the principles of mutual respect, good-neighborliness, and friendship.

Highly assessing Kazakhstan's efforts directed for the peaceful resolution of Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, we hope that this attitude will not change under the new conditions. We are convinced that independent Kazakhstan, while cooperating will all the interested sides, would continue to make its weighty contribution to the protection of human rights, stability, and peace.

[Signed] Levon Ter-Petrosyan, President of the Armenian Republic

[Dated] 18 December 1991, Yerevan

Republic Recognizes Ukraine

LD1812173491 Moscow TASS in English 1705 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By ARMENPRESS correspondent Loris Gukasyan]

[Text] Yerevan December 18 TASS—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan declared today that Armenia recognises the independence of the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Kazakhstan.

The Armenian president expressed readiness to cooperate with these states in all fields.

Supreme Soviet Debates 'Acute Energy Crisis'

OW1812184991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of Armenia has opened a debate today, Dec 18, on a temporary law introducing an emergency situation in the fuel and energy supply. The need has arisen due to an acute energy crisis in the republic.

According to the head of the economic department of the Armenian Council of Ministers Alebvert Vartanyan, Armenia is receiving now at best only 1.5 mn [million] cubic metres of gas a day compared to the former 14-15 mn. That necessitates cutting fuel to all but most essential productions.

A. Vartanyan said that hundreds of enterprises break the limit of power supply allotted for them while the local authorities are unable to do anything about it. That calls for most stringent norms of power consumption, with fines for exceeding them.

Last Hostages Released 17 Dec

NC1812152291 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Yerevan, 18 Dec (ARMENPRES)—As already reported, a group of irresponsible people in Megrinskiy Rayon had halted the train going to Nakhichevan from Baku and had taken its passengers hostage.

Following measures taken, the last 12 hostages were set free on 17 December. The rest had been released earlier.

The republic's Defense Ministry, in cooperation with the Internal Affairs Ministry, is now ensuring the unimpeded traffic of Baku-Nakhichevan trains along the Megrinskiy sector.

Azerbaijan

President Takes Command of Caspian Fleet

OW1812185691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1700 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A spokesman of the Azerbaijani President's press service—Vagif Rustamov—has announced that Ayaz Mutalibov has taken over the command of all the armed forces of the former USSR deployed in the republic including the Caspian naval fleet, with the exception of the strategic deterrent force.

Commenting at the request by an Interfax correspondent on the decree by A. Mutalibov appointing himself Commander in Chief, V. Rustamov added that earlier the republic had taken under its jurisdiction the Interior Troops of the former USSR. The border guards go under the newly-set-up committee for protecting Azerbaijani borders.

V. Rustamov added that many military experts wish to stay in the republic and serve in the national forces. They will receive higher salaries from the republic's budget.

Attacks Continue in NKAO; Stepanakert Shelled

NC1812211191 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1730 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] During the entire day on 17 December and on the night of [words indistinct] Stepanakert came under attack by Alazan missiles and [word indistinct] grenades. As usual, shelling came from the direction of [name indistinct] and Kirkidzhan settlements. [words indistinct] 70 missiles and grenades were fired on the city. People were injured.

Askeran and the village of Akhbulakh came under fire from the direction of Agdam and (?Gullaply) in the early morning. Sixty shells were fired on the village alone. Residential buildings were damaged. One person died and two were injured. There were no casualties in Askeran. However, a few buildings were destroyed. Noragyukh also came under fire. The villages of (?Akhbur) and Garegin in Martuninskiy Rayon came under machine gun fire.

One gets the impression that the Azerbaijanis have bought the entire arsenal of Alazan missiles from the Soviet Army.

[Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian at 1950 GMT on 18 December reports: "The combat operations are continuing in Nagorno-Karabakh. According to official data, 15 persons died and more than 20 were injured in the last two days. According to the military commandant of the state of emergency region, an Azerbaijani group attacked the Gasanabad village yesterday. Five Armenians died during the exchange of fire.

["The settlements are still coming under missile and artillery fire. The number of destroyed buildings is growing. The previous day a particularly bold attack was launched on the internal troops." The report adds that "serviceman Yuriy Yelchinko was killed" and "four servicemen were injured" while trying to repulse an attack that came from Agdam]

Turkish Mediation Favored

LD1812174991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1600 GMT 18 Dec 91

["Television News Service" feature]

[Text] The Nagorno-Karabakh situation remains complex. It has been reported that the Azerbaijan Government is striving to ensure that USSR Internal Affairs Ministry Internal Troops be withdrawn from the region and is increasingly in favor of the idea of Turkey's mediation in settling the Karabakh conflict. It is curious that, according to newspaper reports, Baku made its stand known only a few days after Iran had offered mediation in settling the conflict. It looks that of the two countries the Azeri leaders have decided to choose Turkey.

Interior Ministry's Training Center Seized

OW1912134291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1130 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [18 Wednesday] USSR servicemen and their families left the training center belonging to the USSR interior ministry in Agdam, a city located close to Nagorno-Karabakh. On Tuesday [17 December] the center was captured by the national army of Azerbaijan. According to the army's commanding officer, the training center will be used by Azeri cadets.

On Wednesday [18 December] the Azeris briefly held several hostages: the chief investigator of the garrison, deputy prosecutor and 2 servicemen, who were released as a result of negotiations.

Leader: No Army Role in Armenian Conflict

LD1912110891 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1653 GMT 18 Dec 91

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] On December 17 President Mutalibov assured representatives of the Soviet Army and Navy that the Soviet military won't become involved in the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

At the meeting in Baku with the military commanders of troops and navy located in Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov also assured that their main task was to provide for the safety of the republic's borders. The conflict with Armenia would be solved by the forces of

Azerbaijan itself, noted Ayaz Mutalibov. President of Azerbaijan stated that he had published decree in accordance with which housing would be provided to the Soviet military in Azerbaijan, their salaries would be increased, families of officers and non-commissioned officers would receive the right to buy land plots for summer houses, kindergartens would be available to their children etc.

President of Azerbaijan stressed that he was against transformation of the republic into a single-nation state. President Mutalibov was intending to stop the activity of extremist groups the aim of which was to cause conflict between the army and the population. According to him a decree envisaging more strict responsibility for formation of unlawful armed units and unlawful keeping of arms was to be published in a few days. The republican Procurator's Office and Ministry of National Defense would take all possible measures in order to find and return the arms and military equipment stolen and captured from the military. According to Mr. Mutalibov's evaluation, Nagorno-Karabakh still remained the main source of tension in Azerbaijan.

We have agreed with the president of the Republic of Armenia—said Mutalibov—to resume negotiations in the nearest future; however, the guarantee of the peaceful solution of this problem lies in neutralizing the bandit groups which receive everything they need from the territory of Armenia.

Georgia

Leader's Appeal to Yeltsin on Interstate Ties

AU1912090691 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 13 Dec 91 p 1

[Letter from Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia "To His Excellency Mr. Boris Yeltsin, president of the RSFSR" dated 10 December 1991]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. President,

In accordance with the 8 December 1991 agreement between the Republic of Belarus, the RSFSR, and the Ukraine, the USSR has ceased to exist as a subject of international law. Proceeding from this, the treaty signed on 7 May 1920 must be considered as the only legal document determining interstate relations between the RSFSR and the Republic of Georgia, since the Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia is a legal successor of the Georgian Democratic Republic. This is because the Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia declared, on 9 April 1991, the restoration of state independence, based upon the Act of Independence of 26 May 1918, in accordance with the results of the republican referendum held on 31 March 1991. This treaty has not been denounced by the supreme organs of power of either the RSFSR or the Republic of Georgia. We call upon you to bring interstate relations between our countries into line with the aforementioned treaty, in the spirit of the protocol of the Kazbegi meeting between the chairmen of the Supreme Soviets of the RSFSR and of the Republic of Georgia on 23 March 1991, in order to enable the settlement of the issues that arose over the past decades.

With profound respect,

[Signed] Zviad Gamsakhurdia

[Dated] 10 December 1991

Commander, President View Attacks on Soldiers

PM1812170391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Colonel V. Kaushanskiy report: "To Discontinue Criminal Acts"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Relations between Soviet Army servicemen and the criminal section of the local population, which have deteriorated sharply, have necessitated emergency consultations between the leadership of the Transcausasus Military District and the Georgian leadership. On 16 December Lieutenant General S. Beppayev, deputy commander of the Transcaucasus Military District, spoke on republic television. He noted inter alia that, as long as the troops are carrying out a responsible task within the framework of the single defense area and until their legal status has been fully determined, each serviceman in turn will carry out his duty in accordance with his oath and the regulations. The general again stressed that both in South Ossetia and across the whole territory of Georgia the district troops are maintaining complete neutrality and do not intend on any pretext to interfere in the republic's internal affairs or carry out the functions of USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Internal Troops.

The military chief has categorically rejected accusations that soldiers in Soviet Army uniform participated in one of the last opposition rallies, allegedly with the knowledge of the district command or the command of military units. He surmised that the rally may have included willing participants from among the deserters who had left their subunits and deserted to the camp of T. Kitovani, former commander of the national guard. Lt. Gen. S. Beppayev issued a warning to those who are trying to place the Army in confrontation with the people.

The same evening, Georgian President Z. Gamsakhurdia also spoke on republic television. It was stated in abrupt terms that he would assess any case of provocation against the military as a betrayal of our own people. Such cases, the president stressed, are liable to entail disastrous consequences for the republic. He called on both the opposition forces and those remaining loyal to the lawful government in these difficult times to refrain from acts of coercion.

Meanwhile, roughly at the same time as the television broadcast, Lt. Colonel A. Kondrashov, an officer from the Transcaucasus Military District Staff, was stabbed three times in the subway on his way home and seriously wounded. The officer, who lost a great deal of blood, was taken to hospital.

Official Warns Troops of Confrontation

AU1812200791 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 7 Dec 91 p 2

[Commentary by Maya Aludauri, SEIS correspondent: "With Regard to One of the Commander's Decisions"]

[Text] It was pointed out in the address by the commander of the Transcaucasian Military District troops to the Georgian president and the Georgian people that from now on all transportation of cargo within the district and the movement of automobile transport there will be done under armed escort. The escort will be authorized to use weapons in cases of obvious attacks. The adoption of such a decision, the commander assures, is due to increasingly frequent attacks against USSR servicemen and military facilities made for the purpose of capturing weapons.

Kote Pirtskhalava, chairman of the Juridical Commission at the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council, believes that the main thing that may lead to a relaxation of the situation is the recognition by the Soviet troops stationed on the territory of Georgia of the supremacy of the Republic of Georgia Constitution and laws. At the same time, they must be guided by the resolution of the republic's Supreme Council in accordance with which the Soviet troops stationed on our territory must obey Georgian jurisdiction. Nevertheless, the authorities of the Republic of Georgia are doing everything in order to guarantee that the process of nationalization of the property of the USSR Armed Forces can proceed without excesses and in a legal and peaceful manner.

At the same time, the chairman of the Juridical Commission does not rule out the possiblity that destructive forces active in Georgia and a secret third force that oppose stabilization of the situation in Georgia will try to provoke a confrontation between the Georgian leadership and the Soviet Army troops.

Supreme Council Decree on Security Ministry

AU1712173991 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 7 Dec 91 p 2

["Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Resolution on the Transformation of the State Security Department of the Republic of Georgia Into the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Security" issued in Tbilisi on 3 December]

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia resolves as follows:

To give consent to the Republic of Georgia president's proposal to transform the State Security Department of the Republic of Georgia into the Ministry of Security of the Republic of Georgia.

[Signed] Nemo Burchuladze, deputy chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council

[Dated] 3 December 1991, Tbilisi.

New Members of External Relations Commission

AU1712174591 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 7 Dec 91 p 2

["Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Resolution on the New Composition of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Permanent Commission for External Relations" issued in Tbilisi on 3 December]

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia resolves as follows:

To elect a new composition of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Permanent Commission for External Relations:

Chairman of the commission—Medeya Mirianovna Tushmalishvili;

Members of the commission:

Liya Nikolayevna Andguladze

Bimurza Germanovich Aprasidze

Manana Valerianovna Gabashvili

Teymuraz Ionovich Gventseladze

David Guramovich Gogadze

Nikolay Archilovich Kilasoniya

Gayoz Benoyevich Kordzadze

Georgiy Giviyevich Mardzhanishvili

Maya Vladimirovna Machavariani

Nodar Georgiyevich Noniashvili

Bidzina Konstantinovich Cholokashvili.

[Signed] Nemo Burchuladze, deputy chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council

[Dated] 3 December 1991, Tbilisi

Resolution on Economy Commission Composition

AU1712173591 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 7 Dec 91 p 2

["Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Resolution on the New Composition of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Permanent Commission for the Economy" issued in Tbilisi on 3 December]

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia resolves as follows:

To elect a Permanent Commission for the Economy of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council in a new composition:

Chairman of the commission—Givi Chitoyevich Taktakishvili;

Members of the commission:

Shalva Georgiyevich Absianidze

Yuriy Georgiyevich Burkadze

Avtandil Aleksandrovich Kvetenadze

Merab Shalvovich Kiknadze

Archil Otarovich Machavariani

Mirian Shotayevich Mirianashvili

Zviad Georgiyevich Nadareishvili

Archil Varlamovich Odishariya

Avtandil Dmitriyevich Popiashvili

Nikolay Dzhemovich Saneblidze

Shalva Goglayevich Tsomaya

Vladimir Vasilyevich Tsopurishvili

[Signed] Nemo Burchuladze, deputy chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council

[Dated] 3 December 1991, Tbilisi.

New Members of Human Rights Commission

AU1712174791 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 7 Dec 91 p 2

["Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Resolution on the New Composition of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Permanent Commission for the Protection of Human Rights" issued in Tbilisi on 3 December]

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Republic of Georgia resolves as follows:

To elect a new composition of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council Permanent Commission for the Protection of Human Rights:

Chairman of the commission—Zaur Davidovich Kobaliya

members of the commission:

Shalva Georgiyevich Abzianidze

Viktor Petrovich Domukhovskiy

Amiran Sergeyevich Kaladze

Zurab Konstantinovich Kandelaki

Aleko Shalvovich Meladze

Dali Sardionovna Pirosmanishvili

Tariel Aleksandrovich Putkaradze

Avtandil Parnaozovich Rtskhiladze

Zurab Titeyevich Sanikadze

Maya Petrovna Tomadze

Vakhtang Shalvovich Tsagareishvili

Vakhtang Amiranovich Chitava

Dzhemal Viktorovich Shoniya

Valter Grigoryevich Shurgaya.

[Signed] Nemo Burchuladze, deputy chairman of the Republic of Georgia Supreme Council

[Dated] 3 December 1991, Tbilisi.

Interrepublic Affairs

Economic Agreements Signed in Ashkhabad

OW1812214891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan have signed today, Wednesday, in Ashkhabad agreements on a Inter-Republican Consultative Council (IRCC).

According to the Turkmen President's press-service the headquarters will be based in Ashkhabad. The Council will work out common approaches towards economic policies allowing for the peculiarities of each sovereign republic. It will take decisions by consensus in the character of recommendations.

The republics have agreed on a joint use of the Caspian seaports (Krasnovodsk, Bekdash, Aktau, Guriev) seeking more outlets to foreign markets.

They also signed an agreement on mutual supplies of products in the first quarter of next year.

Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan will cooperate in building a railway between Tedjen and Serakhs. To finance the project and carry out the construction and subsequent operation they will set up a Khemayat (Assistance) association.

Kazakhstan

Further on U.S. Secretary of State's Visit

Talks 'Quite Successful'

LD1712192991 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Text] James Baker, U.S. secretary of state, who is in this country on a working visit, arrived in Alma-Ata, capital of Kazakhstan, today. He will hold talks with Nursultan Nazarbayev, republican president, and other members of republican leadership. Issues on creating the Commonwealth of Independent States to replace the former USSR, and the participation of Kazakhstan and Central Asian republics in it, are expected to be the focal point. The issue of Kazakhstan's nuclear status will undoubtedly also be discussed.

Before Alma-Ata the U.S. secretary of state visited Bishkek, the Kyrgyz capital, where he discussed with its leaders the processes taking place in the former USSR and this Central Asian republic.

In Moscow, representatives of the Union and Russian foreign political departments appreciated talks with Baker as quite successful. They made it possible to avoid a pause in dialogue with the United States. Baker was assured, among other things, that the country's armed forces and its nuclear arsenals are under reliable control. A meeting between experts of the former USSR and the United States on issues of disarmament and policy in the field of security is expected to take place in mid-January.

Joint News Conference Given

LD1812155991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1509 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By KAZTAG correspondents Amangeldiy Akhmetalimov and Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 18 Dec (TASS)— There is an understanding between Russia and Kazakhstan about the retention upon their territory of the nuclear arsenals that they have. This was stated by Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev at a joint news conference with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker on completion of their two-hour private conversation last night. At the same time Kazakhstan intends to raise the issue of concluding an agreement between four states upon whose territory Soviet nuclear weapons are deployed, with the purpose of ensuring unified direction and control and also the nonproliferation of that arsenal, the republic's leader announced.

Nazarbayev said that it is planned to hold a meeting of the leaders of at least nine republics in Alma-Ata on 21 December. At this meeting proposals put forward in Ashkhabad during talks between the leaders of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan will be examined.

Touching upon the possibility of the RSFSR taking the Soviet Union's seat at the UN Security Council, Nazarbayev said that this question will be decided jointly by all members of the Commonwealth of Independent States after that association has finally been formalized.

James Baker confirmed that the nuclear problem, especially those aspects of it which are linked to the transformations of this process, were discussed widely and in detail during the conversation which took place in Alma-Ata. According to Baker, Kazakhstan and its president undoubtedly play a key role in this process.

The U.S. Secretary of State told journalists that the possibility of the independent republic of Kazakhstan being recognized by the United States was examined. As in the case of the other states that are former subjects of the USSR, this question will be decided by the U.S. side on the basis of the relevant appeals and the well-known five principles by which Washington is guided in similar situations. According to James Baker these principles are also shared by President Nazarbayev.

Nazarbayev Issues Report

LD1812164591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1507 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By KAZTAG correspondent Vladimir Akimov]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 18 Dec (TASS)— The press service of Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of the Republic of Kazakhstan, circulated a report to the media today. It

was based on the results of the meeting with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who is visiting sovereign republics of the former USSR.

It says that the president of Kazakhstan did not conceal from Mr. Baker his attitude to the Brest agreement. His stand with regard to the fate of the former USSR was perfectly clear to the leaders of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus.

Nazarbayev recalled that it lies in the fact that Kazakhstan, which recently proclaimed its independence, has always been in favor and is still in favor of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] and above all of an economic one. But never again will it be someone's younger brother or a supplier of someone else's raw materials. Any future renewed union is only possible with all other things being equal—with equal rights and equal opportunities. That is exactly how it is seen by leaders of other sovereign republics and not just the Central Asian ones.

Unfortunately, at least at the first stage, the initiators of the CIS did not display proper understanding of it. It is difficult, for example, to agree that only some republics—albeit the major ones—can be the founding fathers of the future union, and the rest should only go along with it.

The Kazakh president went on to express disagreement with the argument that the fate of the Commonwealth can only be solved by those republics which were the founders of the USSR in 1922. First of all, at that time the historical realities were different and the political situation was different. Second, at that time the founders themselves were also geographically, administrative- territorially and demographically different. Finally, in the years which have passed the republics which comprised the Soviet Union have so integrated their policy, economy and all spheres of life that it is scarcely possible to untie the Gordian knot by such a simple means without affecting someone's interests and without provoking unforeseen consequences.

Therefore, Nazarbayev stresses, everything must be solved by civilized methods alone, and only on an equal basis and by working together. If we really wish to lay the foundations for a genuine commonwealth, and for a long time to come, then, clearly, the means we choose must be in full accordance with our great designs.

Noting the known positive points of the meeting of the leaders of the three republics on the territory of Belarus, the president of Kazakhstan pointed out that they indicate a desire on the part of the leaders who gathered there to preserve to the maximum that which was achieved earlier, including at Alma-Ata when, it would seem, an accord was reached on setting up a unified economic commonwealth. That is why he hopes that at the new meeting in Alma-Ata in a few days' time a compromise solution will be found which suits everyone who is to take part in discussing the problem of creating the CIS.

Further on Nazarbayev Report

PM1812153791 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Dec 91 p 1

[Correspondent Ye. Dotsuk report: "Ama-Ata Does Not Trust Tears"]

[Text] After his meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Baker, [Kazakh President] N. Nazarbayev issued the following press announcement:

"I did not disguise my attitude toward the Brest agreement from Mr. Baker. My position has been quite clearly expounded to the leaders of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus, and I had also expounded it quite clearly in the mass media before. It was also reflected in the final document of our Ashkhabad meeting.

"Unfortunately, the initiators of the Commonwealth of Independent States have not shown due understanding, at least not in the initial stage. It is difficult, for example, to accept that only a few, albeit the most important republics, can be the "founding fathers" of the future union, while the rest merely affiliate to it.

"Everything should be resolved, in my view, solely by civilized methods and on a joint, equal basis.

"I have spoken on this topic with all the participants in the Minsk meeting—Yeltsin, Kravchuk, and Shushkevich—and note with gratitude that they regard the prevailing situation with understanding. And they, the participants in the Ashkhabad meeting, plus certain other heads of state have accepted the proposal to hold a meeting in Alma-Ata to jointly discuss and modify positions and find an acceptable solution—at any rate for the overwhelming majority of the former republics—taking account of the interests of those who are still not ready to join the Commonwealth at present."

Nazarbayev on Nuclear Weapons

OW1812133491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1209 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The US Secretary of State James Baker is staying in the Belarussian capital Minsk for talks on the package of issues related to the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Earlier he visited Moscow, where he met with the Presidents of Russia and the USSR, and then went to Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan.

After his meeting with Mr. Baker in Alma-Ata on Tuesday [17 December], the Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev said that he had confirmed to the quest that Kazakhstan would not threaten anyone with nuclear weapons under any circumstances. It would observe the principle of collective security and would urge the republics where nuclear arms are stationed to conclude a treaty on the non-use of nuclear force.

Mr. Nazarbayev's summary statement, made public in Alma-Ata, says that Kazakhstan, a newly sovereign republic, has always supported the idea of forming an alliance of sovereign republics—primarily in the economic sphere. However, it will never agree to be anyone's "junior brother" or anyone's raw materials depot.

The new union of any kind, according to Nazarbayev, can only be built on a basis of equal opportunities and full interrepublican equality. This view, he said, was shared by the leaders of the Central Asian and other ex-Soviet republics.

The Kazakh leader expressed the hope that the summit conference in Alma-Ata, due next Saturday [21 December], would yield a compromise with regard to the future of the Commonwealth and clarify republican attitude to requesting UN membership.

He said he had no information about Russia's desire to replace the USSR in the UN Security Council, but observed that the place should go to the Commonwealth, if it was ever to be formed, rather than to Russia.

Describing the Soviet president's role in the changing situation, Mr. Nazarbayev praised Mr. Gorbachev for his historic accomplishments but noted that it was up to Gorbachev himself to decide his future.

Commenting on the Russian Federation's readiness to move all the Soviet nuclear systems into its own territory, Mr. Nazarbayev said that, regardless of the other republics' behavior, Kazakhstan would not agree to part with its nuclear weapons.

Nazarbayev Rehabilitates 1986 Demonstrators

PM1812152591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Dec 91 Union Edition p 1

[Own correspondent V. Ardayev report: "Kazakhstan Declares Independence"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—On the evening of 16 December, the Kazakh Supreme Soviet adopted a law on republic state independence.

The preamble to the law states: "The Republic of Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet, expressing the will of the Kazakh people; recognizing the primacy of the laws and freedoms of the person as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other generally recognized norms of international law; confirming the Kazakh nation's right to self-determination; proceeding from the resolve to create a civil society and a rule-of-law state; implementing a peace-loving foreign policy; and declaring its commitment to the principle of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and the disarmament process, formally proclaims the state independence of the Republic of Kazakhstan..." Kazakhstan's independence has already been recognized by the Republic of Turkey.

A large rally took place on Republic Square 17 December to mark the fifth anniversary of the events of 1986. The rally was held on the same spot where, five years ago, a mass demonstration was dispersed by militia and troops.

President N. Nazarbayev adopted a decree declaring 17 December the "Day of the Democratic Renewal of the Republic of Kazakhstan." The same decree rehabilitated participants in the December events, who at the time were brought to trial.

'Several Thousand' at Rally

LD1812200391 Moscow TASS in English 0630 GMT 18 Dec 91

[By KAZTAG-TASS correspondent Murat Buldekbayev]

[Text] Alma-Ata, December 17 [date as received] TASS—Several thousand people turned out for a Democratic Renewal Day in the Kazakh Republic, in the Republic Square in Alma-Ata today. Five years ago, in the same square, peaceful youth marchers protesting against the centre's authoritarian control were attacked by military troops, in the spirit of ideological and antihumane principles, typical of that time.

History - the most objective judge - has put everything in its due place. The pejorative label of "Kazakh nationalism" has been removed from a people remarkable for their desire for international cooperation. The rewards conferred for "restraining" the marchers were declared illegitimate.

Speaking at the meeting, President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev, said Kazakhstan is a different nation now. On the eve of the Democratic Renewal Day, the republican parliament proclaimed the republic an independent state. It chose to move toward a market economy, to build a democratic and legal state in which everyone, irrespective of his or her nationality and religion, as well as party membership, is guaranteed full civil rights and freedoms.

People's deputies of the country and the republic, representatives of various parties and public movements, speaking at the meeting, urged all those present to preserve civil accord.

Foreign Minister on Islamic Conference Issues

LD1812211991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0925 GMT 11 Dec 91

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Yemelyanov]

[Text] Dakar, 11 December, (TASS)—The preparatory conference of ministers of foreign affairs, and the sixth conference of heads of state and governments of member countries of the Islamic Conference Organization [ICO] which followed on 9 December in the capital of Senegal enthusiastically advocated opening up direct dialogue with the Islamic republics of the USSR.

The "pioneers" on the road of inter-Islamic solidarity were Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan. Both republics responded to an invitation from ICO Secretary General Hamida Algabid and sent delegations to the Dakar forum, in which the top leaders from 44 states in the Islamic world are taking part. Iraq has boycotted the meeting because it does not agree with the resolution condemning Baghdad's aggression against Kuwait.

The work of the conference is drawing rapt attention from the world community. Suffice it to say that around 120 journalists are accredited there. The top news item has been the appearance of the ICO's 46th member—Azerbaijan, following its application to join the organization. It is expected that Kazakhstan, which is constantly being mentioned in the local media, will also take this step, perhaps by the time of the routine conference of ICO foreign ministers in 1992. Kazakhstan's acting Minister of Foreign Affairs Saylau Batyrsha-Uly, who was at the preparatory meeting of the ministers and at the conference in the capacity of special representative of President Nursultan Nazarbayev, talked in an interview with the TASS correspondent about the aims of Kazakhstan's taking part in the ICO conference and also shared his impressions of the work of the Islamic forum in Dakar.

"Kazakhstan, like the Central Asian republics which were part of the USSR, has for many years been cut off from the outside world and even from its neighbors in terms of economic, cultural, and other ties in the Islamic world, where around 1.2 billion people live," he noted. "In this community the population of the Central Asian republics numbers more than 50 million Muslims. Kazakhstan was restricted to Sheremetyevo airport alone for a way out to foreign countries. The dawn of the era of perestroyka and democratization has not left us untouched, and our national and spiritual consciousness has been raised. We are on a sure road to openness and integration with the entire world community which, naturally, includes the Arab world. Kazakhstan wants to take part in the common concerns about the planet. This is how Kazakhstan's participation for the first time in the work of the ICO since its inception in 1969 should be viewed.

"Why hide this, for even when I left Alma-Ata, there were still people there who were not conscious of the need for Kazakhstan to come out into the international arena. In actual fact the ICO was not set up to teach the Muslim how and when to pray (the Koran does that). Its aim is mutual assistance and the struggle of Muslims for independence, dignity, and rights, for the creation of a favorable atmosphere for cooperation between the member states of the ICO and other countries. Respect for adherents of other faiths is thereby completely observed. By the way, one should perhaps recall that the ICO conference that was held in Pakistan in 1974 adopted a special resolution in which one of the clauses states that only Muslims recognize the three heavenly religions that have their roots in Jerusalem.

Returning to the Islamic forum in Dakar, it should be noted that the difference in characters cannot be concealed. There are contradictory processes and tendencies, so to speak. There is enough mutual criticism and even harsh reproaches. Nevertheless, progress is being made in the work of the conference. In the resolutions, priorities are being given to the use of peaceful means to resolve disputes. Even on the problem of the Arab-Israeli conflict, it was unambiguously stated that the dialogue started in Madrid must be consolidated at subsequent stages in the peace conference on the near East. In the course of the meeting, I happened to meet Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, who said that Madrid had given Palestinians "a new battlefield on which to fight for the freedom of their motherland." What is important here is that it is a peaceful field. Y. 'Arafat highly appraised the course being pursued by President Nursultan Nazarbayev, who is, according to him, a well-known leader among the Muslim states; and has made Kazakhstan respected as a sovereign state."

"In parallel with the political issues the ICO is resolving the problems of economic integration," the Kazakh representative stressed. "Its launching pad is bilateral economic ties. That is what corresponds to the interests of Kazakhstan today, which is seeking new sources of external financing. In Dakar proposals regarding economic and other cooperation have already been made to the delegations of Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan. I had contacts with Qays 'Abd-al-Munim al-Zawawi, deputy prime minister of Oman, and with the ministers of foreign affairs of Turkey, Iran, and Albania, as well as with delegations from Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Morocco and others. This is the balance of cooperation and the field of diversification of foreign ties".

"Undoubtedly, the spiritual aspect of IUCO activity is also important," S. Batyrsha-uly pointed out. "President Abdou Diouf of Senegal, the new chairman of the ICO, said in his speech at the meeting that the creation of a new international order should be carried out while preserving the intersts and the humane values of Islam, the traditions and customs of the people, and all culture which has been created over the long centuries by many generations from the mosaic-like Muslim world."

Republic To Continue To Send RSFSR Food

LD1912120291 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 1050 GMT 11 Dec 91

[Text] In spite of the fact that the food situation in the republic is tense as the result of a drought, contractual commitments here will be fulfilled and just under 4,000 tonnes of meat will be dispatched to Moscow as was planned for this year. The people of Kazakhstan have always shared their food with Russia in a fraternal way, noted Kazakh Minister of Agriculture and Food Valentin Dvurechenskiy. A clear example of this is the current year, in which we have sold 2.5 million tonnes of grain to the RSFSR. New contracts have been concluded

for 1992. If it should turn out to be a favorable year, we will sell large batches of high-quality grain and tens of thousands of tonnes of onions to Russia.

Weather Forecasts Cease Due to Lack of Finance

LD1912092891 Alma-Ata Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 1050 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Due to the absence of financing of production activity, up-to-date information necessary for compiling weather forecasts is not arriving at the republican Hydrometeorology Center. Therefore, beginning today the issuing of all types of forecasts and gale warnings of dangerous elemental hydrometeorological phenomena are ceasing.

Kyrgyzstan

President Briefs Supreme Soviet on Baker Talks

OW1912002291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1430 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev told parliament in Bishkek Wednesday [18 December] that the United States is ready to cooperate with the republic on the most favorable terms.

Reporting on the outcome of his Tuesday [17 December] talk with the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, Mr. Akayev said the parties had agreed that during Mr. Baker's next visit to Kyrgyzstan, expected to take place next year, appropriate bilateral documents would be signed.

According to Mr. Akayev, he had discussed with the guest the prospect of obtaining a credit from the U.S. for the purchase of 240,000 tons of wheat.

U.S. Secretary of State's Visit Assessed

PM1912094391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Dec 91 Union Edition pp 1, 4

[Feature comprising reports by A. Ryabushkin from Bishkek, A. Portanskiy from Alma-Ata, and N. Matukovskiy and S. Mostovshchikov from Minsk: "James Baker's Visit"]

[Text] Bishkek—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker arrived in Bishkek from Moscow. The republic leadership met the distinguished guest without the traditional slogans and greetings banners, IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Ryabushkin reports.

Askar Akayev and James Baker immediately embarked on a talk which lasted more than half an hour. Subsequently the president of Kyrgyzstan and the U.S. secretary of state answered numerous questions from journalists.

James Baker spoke highly of the democratic reforms being implemented in the republic. Touching upon the situation in the former USSR, he expressed the hope that all these complex processes will be marked by moderation and will take place peacefully. This is what the United States and the whole world want to see.

Baker left Bishkek for Alma-Ata the same day.

Alma-Ata—Waiting for J. Baker in the government residence, N. Nazarbayev told journalists that he intended to have a 40-minute one-on-one conversation with the secretary of state first, to be followed by a meeting between the two sides' delegations. However, journalists had to wait at least two hours before Nazarbayev and Baker joined them around midnight local time for a brief news conference.

As was expected, considerable attention was paid during the talks to the problems of ensuring the safety of Soviet nuclear weapons. Expressing satisfaction with Kazakhstan's stance on this issue, Baker stated that he will be discussing this question at meetings with all the independent republics' leaders. At the same time, he would prefer these talks remain confidential: In that case they will be more fruitful. The secretary of state has specific proposals for Gorbachev and the republic leaders on how the United States could help to neutralize [obezopasit] and dismantle part of the nuclear weapons on the territory of the former Union. Congress has even appropriated $400 million for this purpose. However, while submitting its plan, the U.S. side is seeking to avoid interference in the domestic policy debate in our country, Baker noted.

President Nazarbayev briefed the secretary of state on the meeting of the heads of nine independent republics (the "Minsk Three," the "Central Asian Five," and Armenia), scheduled to take place in Alma-Ata 21 December, at which positions on the formation of the Commonwealth of Independent States are to be coordinated. If our viewpoints in the sphere of defense policy coincide, N. Nazarbayev emphasized, I will submit a proposal to set up a single nuclear arms command center of the four nuclear republics—Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. At the same time we could give guarantees on monitoring the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. As for the siting of these weapons, they will remain on the territory of both Russia and Kazakhstan, which Nazarbayev has already discussed with Yeltsin. The issue here, as is evident from the Kazakh president's words, are by no means Kazakhstan's nuclear ambitions, but the fact that the relocation of nuclear complexes is a technically complex problem, and a very costly one at that.

The question of international recognition of the independent states that are forming in the place of the former Union was discussed in the conversation between the president of Kazakhstan and the U.S. secretary of state. As for the Soviet Union's succession in the Security Council, this question remains to be discussed by the

leaders of the emerging Commonwealth, among other things at the next meeting of the "nine" in Alma-Ata.

Minsk—The scenario of the U.S. secretary of state's tour of our country is approximately the same in all the cities in which he arrives. The meetings in republics are very prompt and brief. It is expected that Baker's Boeing 707 will land in Minsk 18 December around noon or slightly later, about 1300 hours. It has been announced that the guest will spend only two to three hours in the capital of Belarus. His schedule is very tight and the word is that Baker will not stay in Minsk long enough to have dinner on Belarussian soil.

The aircraft landed at about 1300 hours, and his meeting with S. Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet, began immediately. Then, it is assumed, talks will take place in a wider circle with the participation of government members.

It has been announced here that Baker's time is so limited that he will not make any statements for the press at the end of the talks and will not hold any news conferences. Probably the results of the secretary of state's visit to Belarus will have to be assessed later, on the basis of statements from the republic authorities.

According to remarks to IZVESTIYA by Belarus KGB Chairman Eduard Shirkovskiy, "everything necessary is being done to make the visit as effective as possible and to avoid diverting Baker from business."

Further on Formation of National Guard

PM1812171191 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Dec 91 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "A National Guard Is Being Formed in Kyrgyzstan"]

[Text] Bishkek—A national guard is being formed in the republic under a decree by Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev published on 17 December. It is being organized, as the decree notes, "in accordance with the declaration of state independence of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan" and "with the aim of ensuring the republic's security as a sovereign state."

Tajikistan

Republic Intends To Seek IMF Membership

OW1812140491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1209 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tajikistan intends to apply for IMF membership in the near future. President Rakhmon Nabiyev discussed the prospect, among other issues, during his meeting in Dushanbe with the visiting IMF delegation led by Ishan Kapur.

Mr. Kapur handed the Tajik leader a message from the IMF acting president Michel Camdessus expressing readiness to give Tajikistan comprehensive assistance in promoting economic reforms.

The parties agreed that representatives of the International Monetary Fund would come to the republic next February to discuss the provision of aid in more specific terms.

Mr. Nabiyev and Mr. Kapur agreed that the price-freeing campaign suggested by Russia, Belarus and the Ukraine should simultaneously be launched in the Central Asian republics, or else the latter might find themselves in dire economic straits.

Establishment of Bolshevik Party Announced

PM1812163191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 17 Dec 91 First Edition p 1

[Untitled report from ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA, RIA, TASS column]

[Text] The establishment of a primary organization of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks has been announced in Tajikistan. The party's recent founding congress in St. Petersburg was attended by followers of its leader, Nina Andreyevna, from this Central Asian republic.

Uzbekistan

President Meets Turkey's Ozal, Demirel

LD1612224691 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Dec 91

[From the "TV Inform" newscast]

[Text] Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov began his official visit to Turkey today.

[Sh. Ganiyeva] This is President Islam Karimov's first official visit to a foreign country since the Republic of Uzbekistan proclaimed its independence.

The head of the Uzbekistan Government and those accompanying him met Turkish President Turgut Ozal today. Issues of long-term mutually advantageous cooperation between the two republics were to be discussed at the meeting. The Uzbekistan president noted more than once the positive experience of Turkey's economic reform, which was carried out 13 years ago and was named Turgut Ozal's model. The model limited state interference in the economy while stimulating the private sector. Turkey's experience in stabilizing living standards can and must be used in Uzbekistan during today's transition to market relations.

Taking into account the closeness of roots between the two nations and the advantages provided by the identical history, faith, and language, President Turgut Ozal noted a real possibility for stable and full-scale cooperation.

President Karimov also met with Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel, who, in a confidential and warm conversation, noted the need to establish consular relations between Turkey and Uzbekistan, and also stated his government's intention to officially recognize the Republic of Uzbekistan's independence.

Turkey To Aid Republic

LD1912025191 Moscow TASS in English 1451 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Ankara December 18 TASS—President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan, on an official visit in Turkey, arrived in Izmir on Tuesday [17 December], the ANADOLU news agency reported. He is being accompanied during the tour by Serif Ercan, Turkish minister of state.

Turkey's decision to recognise Uzbekistan is a historic event, the Uzbek president told journalists. He pointed out the need for close cooperation between Turkish peoples and suggested that fraternal contacts be established between Samarkand, Bukhara and Izmir.

While in Izmir, the Uzbek delegation visited an Opel car-making plant where they familiarised themselves with the production process. Later in the day the delegation arrived in Istanbul.

During the talks in Ankara on Monday [16 December] the Uzbek delegation and the Turkish leadership agreed to sign a political document. They decided to conclude a bilateral treaty on economic and technical cooperation, sign cultural and consular agreements and develop contacts between the two republics.

Turkey will help Uzbekistan organise a banking system, transfer to a market economy, establish small and medium-sized enterprises and give assistance in the field of education.

The Uzbek president said that in its economic development the republic draws on Turkey's experience.

Turkey To Recognize Independence

LD1812190191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Dec 91

[Text] Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel announced that he intends to recognize the independence of sovereign Uzbekistan. He made this announcement during his meeting in Ankara with Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov, who is in Turkey on an official visit.

President Karimov Meets With Turkey's Ozal

WA1712082591

For ANATOLIA reportage on the visit by Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov to Turkey, including reports on his talks with President Turgut Ozal, please see the Turkey section of the 17 December West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Food, Consumer Goods Coupons Introduced

LD1812000891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0800 GMT 15 Dec 91

[Text] From today's date, all kinds of foodstuff and consumer goods will be sold for coupons in Uzbekistan. The government of the Republic explains this step by the necessity to protect the population in connection with the liberalization of prices. (Boris Dzhalilov), acting minister of grain products of the Republic, stated that prices on bread and other grain products in the Republic will still be the lowest in the country. For example, a loaf of bread costs 24 kopeks here.

Birlik Movement Supports 'Muslim Commonwealth'

OW1712105491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0823 GMT 17 Dec 91

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Birlik, a popular Uzbek movement, has proclaimed the need to establish a commonwealth of the states of Central Asia, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan. A resolution the movement's central council passed, says IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent in Tashkent, emphasizes that their common jurisdiction must cover the command of the armed forces, the coordination of foreign political activities, the maintenance of a common economic space and market, customs and migration policies, transport and communications, ecology and law enforcement.

The member countries of the Muslim commonwealth, says the Birlik resolution, must immediately abolish all laws of the former Soviet Union; the Union property, including military equipment, on the territory of the Commonwealth must be transferred to the republics.

Birlik insists that an immediate end must be put to the movement of property of the former Union beyond the commonwealth and that the newly independent ex-Soviet republics must seek a fair division of property. Birlik expressed readiness to actively participate in the establishment of a new Commonwealth and called on all democratic and public organizations in the republics of Central Asia, Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan to pool efforts in that direction."

People's Democratic Party Plenum Meets 14 Dec

LD1912134391 Tashkent Radio Tashkent Network in Uzbek 0300 GMT 15 Dec 91

[Text] The third plenum of the Central Council of the People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan was held yesterday. The plenum examined matters related to the primary tasks of the Central Council of the People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan in the current difficult

sociopolitical situation. Rasulov, first secretary of the Central Council of the People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan, spoke on this question.

The plenum considers the stabilization of the sociopolitical situation in the republic as one of the primary tasks of the Central Council of the People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan. [Name indistinct], secretary of the Central Council of the People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan, spoke on questions related to [word indistinct] of the party. The plenum adopted the special decision of the Central Council on this matter. It also adopted the preelection appeal of the Central Council of the Democratic Party of Uzbekistan and the plenum participants to all workers, peoples of the republic, and party members. With this the plenum concluded its work.